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THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

1549-1880.

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CERTAIN of the necromancers of the far East are said to have the power of causing a tree to spring up, spread its branches, blossom and bear fruit before the eyes of the lookers-on within the space of a few moments.

Modern liturgies have sometimes been brought into being by a process as extemporaneous as this, but not such was the genesis of the Book of Common Prayer.

There are at least eight forms under which the Prayer-book has been from time to time authoritatively set forth—five English, one Scottish, one Irish, and one American; so that, if we would be accurate, we are bound to specify when we speak of "The Prayer-book," which of several Prayer-books we have in mind.

The truth is, there exists in connection with everything that grows, whether it be plant, animal, or building, a certain mystery like that which attaches to what, in the case of a man, we call personal identity. Which is the true, the actual Napoleon? Is it the Napoleon of the Directory, or the Napoleon of the Consulate, or the Napoleon of the Empire? At each epoch we discern a different phase of the man's character, and yet we are compelled to acknowledge in face of all the variations that we have to do with one and the same man.

But just as a ship acquires, as we may say, her identity when she is launched and named, even though there may be a great deal yet to be done in the way of finishing and furnishing before she can be pronounced seaworthy, so it is with a book that is destined to undergo repeated revision and reconstruction, it does acquire, on the day when it is first published, and first given a distinctive title, a certain character the losing of which would be the loss of identity. There is many an old cathedral that might

properly enough be called a re-edited book in stone. Norman architecture, early English, decorated and perpendicular, all are there, and yet one dominant thought pervades the building. Notwithstanding the many times it has been retouched, the fabric still expresses to the eye the original creative purpose of the designer; there is no possibility of our mistaking Salisbury for York or Peterborough for Lincoln.

The first Book of Common Prayer was built up of blocks that for the most part had been previously used in other buildings, but the resulting structure exhibited, from the very moment it received a name, such distinct and unmistakable characteristics as have guaranteed it personal identity through more than three hundred years. Hence, while it is in one sense true that there are no fewer than eight books of Common Prayer, it is in another sense equally true that the Book of Common Prayer is one.

An identity of purpose, of scope, and of spirit shows itself in all of the various forms under which the book exists, so that whether we are speaking of the first Prayer-book of King Edward the Sixth, or of the book adopted by the Church of Ireland after its disestablishment, or of the American Book of Common Prayer, what we have in mind is in a very real and deep sense one and the same thing.

Let us proceed now to a rapid survey of the facts connected with the first issue of the Common Prayer.

For a period long anterior to the Reformation there had been in use among the English brief books of devotion known as "primers," written in the language of the people. The fact that the public services of the Church were invariably conducted in the Latin tongue made a resort to such expedients as this necessary, unless religion

were to be reserved as the private property of ecclesiastics.

By a curious process of evolution the primer from having been in mediæval times a book wholly religious and devotional, has come to be in our day a book wholly secular and educational. We associate it with Noah Webster and the Harper Brothers. The New England Primer of the Puritans, with its odd jumble of piety and the three R's, marks a point of transition from the ancient to the modern type.

But this by the way. The primer we are now concerned with is the devotional primer of the times just previous to the Reformation. This, as a rule, contained prayers, the *Belief*, the *Ave Maria*, a *litany* of some sort, the *Ten Commandments*, and whatever else there might be that in the mind of the compiler came under the head of "things which a Christian ought to know." There were three of these primers set forth during the reign of Henry the Eighth, one in 1535, one in 1539, and one in 1545. During the space that intervened between the publication of the second and that of the third of these primers, appeared "*The Litany and Suffrages*," a formulary compiled, as is generally believed, by *Cranmer*, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and in substance identical with the *Litany* we use to-day. This *Litany* of 1544 has been properly described as "the precursor and first instalment of the *English Book of Common Prayer*." It was the nucleus or centre of crystallization about which the other constituent portions of our manual of worship were destined to be grouped. A quaint exhortation was prefixed to this *Litany*, in which it is said to have been set forth "because the not understanding the prayers and suffrages formerly used caused that the people came but slackly to the processions." Besides the primers and the *Litany*, there were printed in Henry's reign various editions of a book of *Epistles and Gospels* in English. There was also published a *Psalter* in Latin and English.

All this looked rather to the edification of individual Christians in their private devotional life than to the public worship of the Church, but we are not to suppose that meanwhile the larger interests of the whole body were forgotten. So early as in the year 1542 Convocation, which according to the Anglican theory stands toward the Church in the same attitude that Parliament holds to the State, appointed a Committee of Eight to review and correct the existing service-books. We know very little as to the proceedings of this committee, but that some-

thing was done, and a real impulse given to liturgical revision, is evidenced by the fact that at a meeting of Convocation held soon after King Henry's death a resolution prevailed "That the books of the Bishops and others who by the command of the Convocation have labored in examining, reforming, and publishing the divine service may be produced and laid before the examination of this house."

The next important step in the process we are studying was the publication by authority in the early spring of 1548, of an Order of the Communion, as it was called, a formulary prepared by *Cranmer* to enable the priest after having consecrated the elements in the usual manner, to distribute them to the people with the sentences of delivery spoken in English. The priest, that is to say, was to proceed with the service of the mass as usual in the Latin tongue, but after he had himself received the bread and the wine, he was to proceed to a service of Communion for the people in a speech they could understand.

Almost everything in this tentative document, as we may call it, was subsequently incorporated in the Office of the Holy Communion as we are using it to-day.

We have, then, as an abiding result of the liturgical experiments made in anticipation of the actual setting forth of an authoritative Prayer-book, the *Litany* and this Order of the Communion.

The time was now ripe for something better and more complete; a new king was upon the throne, and one whose counsellors were better disposed toward change than ever Henry had been. The great movement we know under the name of the Reformation touched the life of the Christian Church in every one of its three great departments—doctrine, discipline, and worship. In Henry's mind, however, the question appears to have been almost exclusively one of discipline or polity. His quarrel was not with the accepted theological errors of his day, for as Defender of the Faith he covered some of the worst of them with his shield. Neither was he ill-disposed toward the methods and usages of public worship so far as we can judge. His quarrel first, last, and always was with a certain rival claimant of power, whose pretended authority he was determined to drive out of the realm, to wit, the Pope. But while it was thus with Henry, it was far otherwise with many of the more thoughtful and devout among his theologians, and when the restraint that had been laid on them was removed by the King's death, they welcomed

the opportunity to apply to doctrine and worship the same reforming touch that had already remoulded polity.

An enlarged Committee of Convocation sat at Windsor in the summer of 1548, and as a result there was finally set forth, and ordered to be put into use on Whit-Sunday, 1549, what has become known in history as the "First Prayer-book of Edward VI."

To dwell on those features of the First Book that have remained unaltered to the present day would be superfluous, I shall therefore, in speaking of it, confine myself to the distinctive and characteristic points in which it differs from the prayer-books that have succeeded it.

It is worthy of note that in the title page of the First Book there is a clear distinction drawn between the Church Universal, or what we call in the *Te Deum* "the holy Church throughout all the world," and that particular church to which King Edward's subjects, in virtue of their being Englishmen, belonged. The book is said to be "the Book of the Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of THE CHURCH, after the use of the Church of England." "THE CHURCH" is recognized as being a larger and, perhaps, older thing than the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, while at the same time it is intimated that only through such use of these same prayers and sacraments as the English Church ordains and authorizes can English folk come into communion with the great family of believers spread over the whole earth.

The Preface is a singularly racy piece of English in which with the utmost plainness of speech the compilers give their reasons for having dealt with the old services as they have done. This reappears in the English Prayer-book of the present day under the title "Concerning the Service of the Church;" and so described is placed after the Preface written in 1662 by the Revisers of the Restoration.

The Order for Daily Morning Prayer, as we name it, is called in Edward's First Book "An Order for Matins daily through the year." Similarly, what we call the Order for Daily Evening Prayer was styled "An Order for Even-song." These beautiful names, "Matins" and "Even-song," which it is a great pity to have lost, for surely there is nothing superstitious about them, disappeared from the book as subsequently revised, and save in the Lectionary of the Church of England have no present recognition. One of them, however, Even-song, seems to be coming very generally into colloquial use. The Order for Matins began

with the Lord's Prayer. Then, after the familiar versicles still in use, including two that have no place in our American book, "O God make speed to save me. O Lord make haste to help me," there followed in full the 95th Psalm, a portion of which is known to us as the *Venite*. From this point the service proceeded, as in the English Prayer-book of to day, through the Collect for Grace, where it came to an end. The structure of Even-song was similar, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and ending, as our shortened Evening Prayer now does, with the Collect for Aid against Perils. Then followed the Athanasian Creed, and immediately afterward came the Introits, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

These Introits, so-called, were psalms appointed to be sung when the priest was about to begin the Holy Communion. They had been an ancient feature of divine service, but were dropped from the subsequent books as a required feature of the Church's worship.

The title of the Communion Service in Edward's First Book is as follows: "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion commonly called the Mass." Immediately after the Prayer for Purity—i.e., in the place where we have the Ten Commandments comes the *Gloria in Excelsis*. The service then proceeds very much as with us, except that the Prayer for the Church Militant and the Consecration Prayer are welded into one, and the Prayer of Humble Access given a place immediately before the reception of the elements. I note, in passing, certain phrases and sentences that are peculiar to the Communion Office of the First Book, as, for instance, this from the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church. "And here we do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints from the beginning of the world, and chiefly in the most glorious and blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith and keeping thy holy commandments grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith and do now rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them we beseech thee thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son may altogether be set on His right hand."

And this from the closing portion of the Consecration. "Yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications by the ministry of thy holy angels to be brought up into thy holy tabernacle before the sight of thy divine majesty."

Following close upon the Communion Service came the Litany, differing very little from what we have to-day, save in the memorable petition "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us."

The Baptismal Offices of the First Book contain certain unique features. The sign of the cross is ordered to be made on the child's breast as well as on his forehead. There is a form of exorcism said over the infant in which the unclean spirit is commanded to come out and to depart. There is also the giving of the "Crisomè" or white vesture as a symbol of innocence. "Take this white vesture for a token of the innocency, which by God's grace in this holy sacrament of Baptism is given unto thee, and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocency of living, that after this transitory life thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting."

The Catechism in Edward VI. First Book, as in the subsequent books down to 1662, is made a part of the Confirmation Office, although it does not clearly appear that the children were expected to say it as a preliminary to the service.

The Office for the Visitation of the Sick contains provision for private confession and absolution, and also directs that the priest shall anoint the sick man with oil if he be desired to do so.

The Office for the Communion of the Sick allows the practice of what is called the reservation of the elements, but contains also, be it observed, that rubric which has held its place through all the changes the Prayer-book has undergone, where we are taught that if the sick man by any "just impediment fail to receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the curate shall instruct him that if he do truly repent him of his sins and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him . . . he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, profitably to his soul's health although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth."

Such is the testimony of Edward VI.'s First Book to the truly spiritual character of Holy Communion considered in its essence. Imagine the measure of success that would

be likely to attend an attempt to secure the insertion of such a rubric in the Prayer-book to-day, supposing it never to have had a place there!

The Burial Office contains a recognition of prayer for the dead, but except in the matter of the arrangement of the parts differs but little from the service still in use. A special Introit, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel are appointed "for the Celebration of the Holy Communion when there is a Burial of the Dead."

A Communion Office for Ash-Wednesday, substantially identical with that still in use in the Church of England, concludes the book.

The First Prayer book of King Edward the Sixth, memorable as it was destined to become, proved, so far as actual use was concerned, but short-lived. It became operative, as we have seen, on Whit-Sunday, 1549, but it was soon evident that while the new services went too far in the direction of reform to please the friends of the ancient order of things, they did not go far enough to meet the wishes of the reforming party.

Before the year was out no fewer than three translations of the Liturgy into Latin had been undertaken with a view to informing the Protestant divines of the Continent as to what their English colleagues were doing. "There was already within the Church" (of England), writes Cardwell, in his comparison of Edward's two books, "a party, though probably not numerous, which espoused the peculiar sentiments of Calvin; there were others, and Cranmer, it appears, had recently been one of them, adhering strictly to the opinions of Luther; there were many, and those among the most active and the most learned, who adopted the views of Bullinger and the theologians of Zurich; there was a still larger body anxious to combine all classes of Protestants under one general confession, and all these, though with distinct objects and different degrees of impatience, looked forward to a revision of the Liturgy, to bring it more completely into accordance with their own sentiments."

As a result of the agitation thus vividly pictured by Cardwell, there came forth in 1552 the book known as the Second Prayer-book of King Edward VI., a work of the very greatest interest, for the reason that it was destined to become the basis of all future revisions. Whit-Sunday, 1549, was the day when the First Book began to be used. The Feast of All Saints, 1552, was the date officially appointed for the introduction of the Second Book. Presently King Edward

died, and by an act of Mary passed in October, 1553, the use of his book became illegal on and after December 20th of that year. It thus appears that the First Book was in use for two years and about four months, and the Second Book one year and about two months. A memorable three years and a half for the English-speaking peoples of all time to come, for it is not too much to say that while the language of Tyndale and of Cranmer continues to be heard on earth, the devotions then put into form will keep on moulding the religious thought and firing the spiritual imagination of this race.

The points in which the second of King Edward's two books differs from the first are of such serious moment and the general complexion of the later work has in it such an access of Protestant coloring, that high Anglican writers have been in the habit of attributing the main features of the revision to the interference of the Continental Reformers. "If it had not been for the impertinent meddling," they have been accustomed to say, "of such foreigners as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and John a-Lasco, we might have been enjoying at the present day the admirable and truly Catholic devotions set forth in the fresh morning of the Reformation before the earth-born vapors of theological controversy and ecclesiastical partizanship had beclouded an otherwise fair sky." But it does not appear that there is any solid foundation, in fact, for these complaints.

The natural spread of the spirit of reform among the people of the realm taken in connection with the changes of opinion which the swift movement of the times necessarily engendered in the minds of the leading divines are of themselves quite sufficient to account for what took place. Certainly, if the English of that day were at all like their descendants in our time, it is in the highest degree unlikely that they would have allowed a handful of learned refugees to force upon them changes which their own sober judgment did not approve.

The truth is, very little is certainly known as to the details of what was done in the making of Edward's Second Book. Even the names of the members of the committee intrusted with the revision are matter of conjecture, and of the proceedings of that body no authentic record survives. What we do possess and are in a position to criticize is the book itself, and to a brief review of the points in which it differs from its predecessor we will now pass.

Upon taking up the Second Book after laying down the First, one is struck imme-

diately with the changed look of Morning Prayer. This is no longer called Matins, and no longer begins as before with the Lord's Prayer. An Introduction has been prefixed to the office consisting of a collection of sentences from Holy Scripture, all of them of a penitential character, and besides these of an Exhortation, a Confession, and an Absolution. There can be little doubt that this opportunity for making public acknowledgment of sin and hearing the declaration of God's willingness to forgive, was meant to counterbalance the removal from the book of all reference, save in one instance, to private confession and absolution. The Church of England has always retained in her Visitation Office a permission to the priest to pronounce absolution privately to the sick man. This was a feature of the First Book that was not disturbed in the second. But wherever else they found anything that seemed to look toward the continuance of the system familiarly known to us under the name of "the Confessional," they expunged it. Between the Exhortation and the Confession there is, in point of literary merit, a noticeable contrast, and it is scarcely to be believed that both formularies can have proceeded from one and the same pen. Another step in the Protestant direction was the prohibition of certain vestments that in the First Book had been allowed, as the alb and cope. The Introit Psalms were taken away. The word "table" was everywhere substituted for the word "altar." The changes in the Office of the Holy Communion were numerous and significant. The Ten Commandments, for instance, were inserted in the place where we now have them. The *Gloria in Excelsis* was transferred from the beginning of the service to the end. The Exhortations were re-written. The supplication for the dead was taken out of the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, and the words "militant here on earth" were added to the title with a view to confining the scope of the intercession to the circle of people still alive. The Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access were placed before the Consecration instead of after it. Most important of all was the change of the words appointed to be said in delivering the elements to the communicants. In the First Book there had been "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," and in the case of the cup, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." For these were now

substituted in the one instance the words "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving," and in the other, "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."

From the Office for the Communion of the Sick the direction to reserve the elements was omitted, as was also the permission to anoint the sick man with oil. The Service of Baptism was no longer suffered to retain the exorcism of the evil spirit, or the white vesture, or the unction; and there were other items of less important change.

Those mentioned reveal plainly enough what was the animus of the revisers. Most evidently the intention was to produce a liturgy more thoroughly reformed, more in harmony with the new tone and temper which the religious thought of the times was taking on.

We come to the Third Book of Common Prayer. Bloody Mary was dead, and Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne.

During the Roman reaction proclamation had been made that all the Reformed service-books should be given up to the ecclesiastical authorities within fifteen days to be burned. This is doubtless the reason why copies of the liturgical books of Edward's reign are now so exceedingly rare. Reprints of them abound, but the originals exist only as costly curiosities.

Soon after Elizabeth's accession a committee of divines assembled under her authority for the purpose of again revising the formularies.

The Queen was personally a High-Church-woman, and her own judgment is said to have been favorable to taking the first of Edward's two books as the basis of the revision, but a contrary preference swayed the committee, and the lines followed were those of 1552 and not those of 1549.

The new features distinctive of the Prayer-book of Elizabeth, otherwise known as the Prayer-book of 1559, are not numerous. A table of Proper Lessons for Sundays was introduced. The old vestments recognized in the earlier part of King Edward's reign were again legalized. The petition for deliverance from the tyranny of the Pope was struck out of the Litany, and by a compromise peculiarly English in its character, and, as experience has shown, exceedingly well judged, the two forms of words that had been used in the delivery of the elements in the Holy Communion were welded together into the shape in which we have them still. An interesting tradition survives in the

English Church to the effect that Pope Pius the Fourth was willing to make peace with Elizabeth on the basis of this Prayer-book of hers if only she would consent to acknowledge his supremacy.

Sir Edward Coke declares upon his honor ("as I have faith to God and man" are his words), that the Holy Father wrote a letter to her Majesty "in which he did allow the Bible and Book of Divine Service, as it is now used among us, to be authentic and not repugnant to truth. But that therein was contained enough necessary to salvation, though there was not so much in it as might conveniently be, and such he would also allow it unto us without changing any part; so as her Majesty would acknowledge to receive it from the Pope and by his allowance, which her Majesty denying to do she was then presently by the same Pope excommunicated. . . . I have oftentimes" adds Sir Edward, "heard avowed by the late Queen her own words, and I have conferred with some Lords that were of greatest reckoning in the State who had seen and read the letter which the Pope sent to that effect; as have been by me specified. And this upon my credit, as I am an honest man is most true."

Queen Elizabeth's Prayer-book continued in use for five-and-forty years.

Nothing was more natural than that when she died there should come with the accession of a new dynasty a demand for fresh revision.

King James, who was not afflicted with any want of confidence in his own judgment, invited certain representatives of the disaffected party to meet, under his presidency, the Churchmen in council with a view to the settlement of differences. The Puritans had been gaining in strength during Elizabeth's reign, and they felt that they were now in position to demand a larger measure of liturgical reform than that monarch and her advisers had been willing to concede to them.

King James convened his Conference at Hampton Court, near London, and he himself was good enough to preside. Very little came of the debate. The Puritans had demanded the discontinuance of the sign of the cross in Baptism, of bowing at the name of Jesus, of the ring in marriage, and of the rite of confirmation. The words "priest" and "absolution" they sought to have expunged from the Prayer-book, and they desired that the wearing of the surplice should be made optional.

Almost nothing was conceded to them. The words "or Remission of Sins" were added to the title of the Absolution, certain

Prayers and Thanksgivings were introduced, and that portion of the Catechism which deals with the Sacraments was for the first time set forth. And thus the English Prayer-book started out upon its fourth lease of life destined in this form to endure unchanged, though by no means unassailed, for more than half a century.

A stirring half century it was. The Puritan defeat at Hampton Court was redressed at Naseby. With the coming in of the Long Parliament the Book of Common Prayer went out, and to all appearances the triumph of the commonwealth meant the final extinction of the usage of liturgical worship on English soil. The book, under its various forms, had lasted just a hundred years when he who

"Nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene"

suffered at Whitehall.

They buried him in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and no single word of the Prayer-book he had loved and for which he had fought was said over his grave.

On January 3d, 1645, Parliament repealed the statutes of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth that had enjoined the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and took order that thereafter only such divine service should be lawful as accorded with what was called the Directory, a manual of suggestions with respect to public worship adopted by the Presbyterian party as a substitute for the ancient liturgy.

With the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 came naturally the restoration of the Prayer-book, and with equal naturalness a revision of it. But of what sort should the revision be, and under whose auspices conducted? This was an anxious question for the advisers, civil and ecclesiastical, of the restored King. Should the second Charles take up the book just as it had fallen from the hands of the first Charles, unchanged in line or letter, or should he seek by judicious alterations and timely concessions to win back for the national Church the good-will and loyalty of those who, eighteen years before, had broken down her hedge? The situation may be described as triangular.

The King's secret and personal sympathies were probably all along with the Roman Church; his official allegiance was plainly due to the Church of England, and yet, at the same time, he owed much to the forbearance of the men who had been dominant under the Commonwealth. The mind of the nation had, indeed, re-acted towards monarchy, but not with such an absolute and

hearty renunciation of the doctrines of popular sovereignty as to make it safe for the returning King to do precisely as he chose. The glorious Revolution that was destined so soon to follow upon the heels of the gracious Restoration gave evidence, when it came, that there were some things the people of England prized even more highly than an hereditary throne. Misgivings as to the amount there might still be of this sort of electricity in the atmosphere suggested to the King and his counsellors the expediency of holding a conference, at which the leaders on either side might bring forward their strong reasons in favor of this or that method of dealing with the ecclesiastical question in general, and more especially with the vexed problem of worship.

Accordingly, early in the spring of 1661 the King issued a royal warrant summoning to meet at the Savoy Palace in the Strand an equal number of representatives of both parties—namely, one-and-twenty Churchmen and one-and-twenty Presbyterians.

The Episcopal deputation consisted of twelve bishops and nine other divines called coadjutors. The Presbyterians had also their twelve principal men and their nine coadjutors.

Conspicuous among the Episcopalians for weight of learning were Bishops Sanderson, Cosin, and Walton, and Doctors Pearson, Sparrow, and Heylin. Baxter, Reynolds, Calamy, and Lightfoot were the most notable of the Presbyterians.

The conference, which has ever since been known from its place of meeting (an old palace of the Piedmontese Ambassadors) as the Savoy Conference, convened on April 15th, 1661. For various reasons, it was evident from the outset that the Churchmen were in a position of great advantage. In the first place, signs and tokens of a renewed confidence in monarchy and of a revived attachment to the reigning House were becoming daily more numerous.

Before he had had a chance to test the strength of the existing political parties and to know how things really stood, Charles had borne himself very discreetly toward the Presbyterians, and had held out hopes to them which, as the event proved, were destined never to be realized. In a declaration put forth in the autumn of 1660, after he had been for some months on English soil, he had even gone so far as to say "When we were in Holland we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal assertors of the Presbyterian opinions; with whom we had as much

conference as the multitude of affairs which were then upon us would permit us to have, and to our great satisfaction and comfort found them persons full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the Church and State, and neither enemies, as they have been given out to be, to episcopacy or liturgy, but modestly to desire such alterations in either, as without shaking foundations might best allay the present distempers."

By the time the conference met it had become evident, from votes taken in Parliament and otherwise, that the Churchmen could sustain toward their opponents a somewhat stiffer attitude than this without imperilling their cause. Another great advantage enjoyed by the Episcopalians grew out of the fact that they were the party in possession. They had only to profess themselves satisfied with the Prayer-book as it stood, in order to throw the Presbyterians into the position of assailants, and defence is always easier than attack. Sheldon, the Bishop of London, was not slow to perceive this. At the very first meeting of the conference, he is reported to have said that "as the Non-conformists, and not the bishops, had sought for the conference, nothing could be done till the former had delivered their exceptions in writing, together with the additional forms and alterations which they desired." Upon which Bishop Burnet in his *History of his own Times*, remarks: "Sheldon saw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raised a mighty outcry against them, as people that could never be satisfied."

The Presbyterians, however, took up the challenge, set to work at formulating their objections, and appointed Richard Baxter, the most famous of their number, to show what could be done in the way of making a better manual of worship than the Book of Common Prayer.

Baxter, a truly great man and wise in a way, though scarcely in the liturgical way, was guilty of the incredible folly of undertaking to construct a Prayer-book within a fortnight.

Of this liturgy it is probably safe to say that no denomination of Christians, however anti-prelatical or eccentric would for a moment dream of adopting it, if, indeed, there be a single local congregation anywhere that could be persuaded to employ it. The characteristic of the devotions is lengthiness. The opening sentence of the prayer with which the book begins contains by actual count eighty-three words. It is probable that Baxter by his rash act did more to in-

jure the cause of intelligent and reverential liturgical revision than any ten men have done before or since. In every discussion of the subject he is almost sure to be brought forward as "the awful example."

A document much more to the point than Baxter's Liturgy was the formal catalogue of faults and blemishes alleged against the Prayer-book, which the Puritan members of the conference in due time brought in. This indictment, for it may fairly be called such, since it was drawn up in separate counts, is very interesting reading. Of the "exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer," as the Puritans named their list of liturgical grievances, some must strike almost any reader of the present day as trivial and unworthy. Others again there are that draw a sympathetic *Amen* from many quarters to-day. To an American Episcopalian the catalogue is chiefly interesting as showing how ready and even eager were our colonial ancestors of a hundred years ago to remove out of the way such known rocks of offence as they could. An attentive student of the American Prayer-book cannot fail to be struck with the number of instances in which the text gives evidence of the influence exerted over the minds of our revisers by what had been urged, more than a hundred years before, by the Puritan members of the Savoy Conference. The defeat of 1661 was in a measure, at least, avenged in 1789. It is encouraging to those who cast their bread upon liturgical waters, to notice after how many days the return may come. But the conference, to all outward seeming, was a failure. Baxter's unhappy Prayer-book was its own sufficient refutation, and as for the list of special grievances it was met by the Bishops with an "Answer" that was full of hard raps and conceded almost nothing.

A few detached paragraphs may serve to illustrate the general tone of this reply. Here, for instance, is the comment of the Bishops upon the request of the Puritans to be allowed occasionally to substitute extemporaneous for liturgical devotions. "The gift or rather spirit of prayer consists in the inward graces of the spirit, not in extempore expressions which any man of natural parts having a voluble tongue and audacity may attain to without any special gift." Nothing very conciliatory in that. To the complaint that the collects are too short, the Bishops reply that they cannot for that reason be accounted faulty, being like those "short but prevalent prayers in Scripture, Lord, be merciful to me a sinner. Lord, increase our faith." The Puritans had objected to the antiphonal element in the Prayer-

book services, and desired to have nothing of a responsive character allowed beyond the single word *Amen*. "But," rejoin the Bishops, "they directly practice the contrary in one of their principal parts of worship, singing of psalms, where the people bear as great a part as the minister. If this way be done in Hopkins's why not in David's Psalms; if in metre, why not in prose; if in a psalm, why not in a litany?" Sharp but not winning.

The Puritans had objected to the people's kneeling while the Commandments were read on the score that ignorant worshippers might mistake the Decalogue for a form of prayer. With some asperity the Bishops reply that "why Christian people should not upon their knees ask their pardon for their life forfeited for the breach of every commandment and pray for grace to keep them for the time to come they must be more than 'ignorant' that can scruple."

The time during which the conference at the Savoy should continue its sessions had been limited to four months. This period expired on July 24th, 1661, and the apparently fruitless disputation was at an end. Meanwhile, however, Convocation, the recognized legislature of the Church of England, had begun to sit, and the Bishops had undertaken a revision of the Prayer-book after their own mind, and with slight regard to what they had been hearing from their critics at the Savoy. The bulk of their work, which included, it is said, more than six hundred alterations, most of them of a verbal character and of no great importance, was accomplished within the compass of a single month. It is consoling to those who within our own memory have been charged with indecent haste for seeking to effect a revision of the American Book of Common Prayer within a period of nine years to find this precedent in ecclesiastical history for their so great rashness.

Since Charles the Second's day there has been no formal revision of the Prayer-book of the Church of England by the Church of England.

Some slight relaxations of liturgical use on Sundays have been made legal by Act of Parliament, but in all important respects the Prayer-book of Victoria is identical with the book set forth by Convocation and sanctioned by Parliament shortly after the collapse of the Savoy Conference. Under no previous lease of life did the book enjoy anything like so long a period of continued existence. Elizabeth's book was the longest lived of all that preceded the Restoration, but that only continued in use five-and-forty

years. But the Prayer-book of 1661 has now held its own in England for two centuries and a quarter. When, therefore, we are asked to accept the first Edwardian Book as the only just exponent of the religious mind of England, it is open to us to reply, "Why should we, seeing that the Caroline Book has served as the vehicle of English devotion for a period seventy-five times as long?" The most voluminous of the additions made to the Prayer-book, in 1661, were the Office for the Baptism of Adults and the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea. The wide diffusion, under the Commonwealth, of what were then called Anabaptist opinions, had brought it to pass that throughout the kingdom there were thousands of men and women who had grown up unbaptized. At the time of the Reformation such a thing as an unchristened Christendom seems not to have been thought possible. At any rate no provision was made for the contingency. But upon the spread of liberty of religious thought there followed, logically enough, the spread of liberty of religious action, and it was not strange that after a whole generation had spent its life in controversy of the warmest sort over this very point of Baptism, there were found to be in England multitudes of the unbaptized.

Another reason assigned in the Preface of the English Prayer-book, for the addition of this office was that it might be used for the baptizing of "natives in the plantations and other converts." This is the first hint of any awakening of the conscience of the English Church to a sense of duty toward those strangers and foreigners who in the "Greater Britain" of these later days fill so large a place. The composition of the office, which differs very little, perhaps scarcely enough, from that appointed for the Baptism of Infants, is attributed to Griffith, the Bishop of St. Asaph. The compiler of the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea was Bishop Sanderson, famous among English theologians as an authority on casuistry. He must have found it rather a nice case of conscience to decide whether a Stuart divine in preparing forms of prayer for a navy that had been the creation of Oliver Cromwell ought wholly to omit an acknowledgment of the nation's obligation to that stout-hearted, if non-Episcopal Christian. Other additions of importance made at this revision were the General Thanksgiving, in all probability the work of Reynolds, a conforming Presbyterian divine, the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Sixth Sunday after the Epiphany, the Prayer for Parlia-

ment, upon the lines of which our own Prayer for Congress was afterward modelled, and the Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men. In the Litany the words "rebellion" and "schism" were introduced into one of the suffrages, becoming tide-marks of the havoc wrought in Church and State by what the revisers, doubtless, looked back upon as "the flood of the ungodly." The words "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons" were substituted for "Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers of the Church." New collects were appointed for the Third Sunday in Advent and for St. Stephen's Day. Both of these are distinct gains, albeit had the opinion then prevailed that to introduce into the Prayer-book anything from the pen of a living writer is an impiety, we should have gained neither of them.

Another important change made in 1662 was the adoption for the Sentences, Epistles and Gospels of the language of King James's Bible in place of that of earlier versions. This principle was not applied to the Psalter, to the Decalogue, or, in fact, to any of the portions of Scripture contained in the Communion Service.

It is also interesting to note that the Confession in the Holy Communion, which the earlier rubric had directed should be said by one of the congregation, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, "was now made general and enjoined upon all the worshippers."

Most suggestive of all, however, was the reinsertion at the end of the Communion Service of a certain Declaration about the significance of the act of kneeling at the reception of the elements, which had, as some say, irregularly and without proper authority, found its way into the Second Book of Edward VI., but had been omitted from all subsequent books till now. This Declaration, which from its not being printed in red ink is known to those who dislike it under the name of "the black rubric," was undoubtedly intended to ease the consciences of those who scrupled to kneel at the altar-rail for fear of seeming to countenance that superstitious adoration of the elements known to and stigmatized by the Reformers as "host-worship." The language of the black rubric as it stood in Edward's Second Book was as follows: "Although no order can be so perfectly devised but it may be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmity, or else of malice and obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part; and yet because brotherly charity willeth that so much as conveniently may be offences should be taken away; there-

fore we willing to do the same: whereas, it is ordained in the Book of Common Prayer, in the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the communicants kneeling should receive the Holy Communion, which thing being well meant for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the Holy Communion might else ensue, lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise; we do declare that it is not meant thereby, that any adoration is done or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians: and as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here, for it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body to be in more places than in one at one time."

In restoring this significant Declaration, the revisers of 1662 substituted the words "corporal presence" for the words "real and substantial presence," but probably with no intention other than that of making the original meaning more plain. The fact that in the teeth and eyes of the black rubric the practice known as Eucharistical adoration has become widely prevalent in the Church of England, only shows how little dependence can be placed on forms of words to keep even excellent and religious people from doing the things they have a mind to do.

In taking leave of the Caroline revision, it may be permitted to dwell for a moment upon the serious character of the conclusion reached by the ecclesiastical leaders of that day. An opportunity was given them to conciliate dissent. Without going all lengths, without in any measure imperilling the great foundation principles of Anglican religion, they might, it would seem, have won back to the national church thousands of those whom their sternness not only repelled but permanently embittered. But it was the hour of victory with the Churchmen, and "Woe to the conquered" seems to have been their cry. They set their faces as a flint against concession; they passed their iron-clad act of uniformity, and now for more than two hundred years religion in Great Britain has been a household divided against itself. Perhaps nothing that the men of the Restoration could have done

would have made it otherwise. Perhaps the familiar question of the cynical Dean of St. Patrick's, "What imports it how large a gate you open, if there be always left a number who place a pride and a merit in refusing to enter?" was a fair question, and fatal to any dream of unity. And yet one may be pardoned for believing that had a little of the oil of brotherly kindness been poured upon those troubled waters we whom the waves still buffet might to-day be sailing a smoother sea.

As stated above, the Convocation of 1662 gave to the Prayer-book of the Church of England the form it has ever since retained. But it must not be supposed that no efforts have been made meanwhile to bring changes to pass. The books, written upon the subject form a literature by themselves.

The one really serious attempt to reconstruct the Liturgy in post-Caroline times was that which grew naturally enough out of the Revolution of 1688. In every previous crisis of political change, the Prayer-book had felt the tremor along with the statute-book.

Church and State, like heart and brain, are sympathetically responsive to one another; revisions of rubrics go naturally along with revisions of codes. It was only what might have been anticipated, therefore, that when William and Mary came to the throne a Commission should issue for a new review. If Elizabeth had found it necessary to revise the book, if James had found it necessary, if Charles had found it necessary, why should not the strong hand of William of Orange be laid upon the pages? But this time the rule was destined to find its exception. The work of review was, indeed, undertaken by a Royal Commission, including among its members the great names of Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and Beveridge, but nothing came of their work. Convocation again showed itself unfriendly to anything like concessive measures, and so complete was the obscurity into which the doings of the Commission fell, that even as late as 1849, Cardwell, in the third edition of his *History of Conferences*, speaks as if he knew nothing of the whereabouts of the record. In 1854 the manuscript minutes of the Commission's proceedings were discovered in the library of Lambeth Palace, and by order of Parliament printed as a Blue-book. The same document has also been published in a more readable form by Bagster. One rises from the perusal of this Broad Church Prayer-book—for such, perhaps, Tillotson's attempt may not unfairly be called—profoundly thankful that the promoters of it were not

suffered to succeed. The Preface to our American Book of Common Prayer refers to this attempted review of 1689 "as a great and good work." But the greatness and the goodness must have lain in the motive, for one fails to discern them either in the matter or in the manner of what was recommended.

Even Macaulay, Whig that he is, fails not to put on record his condemnation of the literary violence which the Prayer-book so narrowly escaped at the hands of the Royal Commission of 1689. Terseness was not the special excellency of Macaulay's own style, yet even he resented Bishop Patrick's notion that the collects could be improved by amplification. One of the few really good suggestions made by the Commissioners was that of using the Beatitudes in the Office of the Holy Communion as an alternate for the Decalogue. There are certain festivals of the Christian year when such a substitution would be most timely and refreshing.

We make a leap now of just a hundred years. From 1689 we pass to 1789, and find ourselves in the city of Philadelphia, at a convention assembled for the purpose of framing a constitution and setting forth a liturgy for a body of Christians destined to be known as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. During the interval between the issue of the Declaration of Independence and the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States, the people in this country who had been brought up in the communion of the Church of England found themselves ecclesiastically in a very delicate position indeed. As colonists they had been canonically under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, a somewhat remote Diocesan. But with this Episcopal bond broken and no new one formed, they seemed to be in a peculiar sense adrift. It does not fall to me to narrate the steps that led to the final establishment of the episcopacy upon a sure foundation, nor yet to trace the process through which the Church's legislative system came gradually to its completion. Our interest is a liturgical one, and our subject matter the evolution of the Prayer-book. I say nothing, therefore, of other matters that were debated in the Convention of 1789, but shall propose instead that we confine ourselves to what was said and done about the Prayer-book. In order, however, to fully appreciate the situation we must go back a little. In a half-formal and half-informal fashion there had come into existence, four years before this Convention of 1789 assembled,

an American Liturgy now known by the name of The Proposed Book. It had been compiled on the basis of the English Prayer-book by a Committee of three eminent clergymen, Dr. White, of Pennsylvania, Dr. William Smith, of Maryland, and Dr. Wharton, of Delaware. Precisely what measure of acceptance this book enjoyed, or to what extent it came actually into use are difficult, perhaps hopeless questions.

What we know for certain is that the public opinion of the greater number of Churchmen rejected it as inadequate and unsatisfactory. In the Convention of 1789 the Proposed Book does not seem to have been seriously considered in open debate at all, though doubtless there was much talk about it, much controversy over its merits and demerits at Philadelphia dinner-tables and elsewhere while the session was in progress.

The truth is, the changes set forth in The Proposed Book were too sweeping to commend themselves to the sober second-thought of men whose blood still showed the tincture of English conservatism. Possibly also some old flames of Tory resentment were rekindled, here and there, by the prominence given in the book to a form of public thanksgiving for the Fourth of July. There were Churchmen doubtless at that day who failed duly to appreciate what were called in the title of the office, "the inestimable blessings of Religious and Civil Liberty." Others again may have been offended by the treatment measured out to the Psalter, which was portioned into thirty selections of two parts each, with the *Benedicite* added at the end, to be used, if desired, on the thirty-first day of any month. Another somewhat crude and unliturgical device was the running together without break of the Morning Prayer and the Litany.

I speak of blemishes, but the Proposed Book had its excellences also. Just at present it is the fashion in Anglican circles to heap ridicule and contempt on The Proposed Book out of all proportion to its real demerits. Somehow it is thought to compromise us with the English by showing up our ecclesiastical ancestors in an unfavorable light as unlearned and ignorant men. It is treated as people will sometimes treat an old family portrait of a forebear, who in his day was under a cloud, mismanaged trust funds, or made money in the slave trade. Thus a grave historiographer by way of speaking comfortably on this score, assures us that the volume "speedily sunk into obscurity," becoming one of the rarest of the books illustrative of our ecclesiastical annals.

And yet, curiously enough, the Proposed Book was in some points more "churchly," using the word in a sense expressive of liturgical accuracy, than the book finally adopted. In the Morning Prayer it has the *Venite* in full and not abridged. The *Benedictus* it also gives entire. A single form of Absolution is supplied. The versicles following upon the Creed are more numerous than ours. In the Evening Prayer the great Gospel Hymns, the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc dimittis*, stand in the places to which we with tardy justice have only just restored them.

Again, if we consider those features of the Proposed Book that were retained and made part of the Liturgy in 1789, we shall have further reason to refrain from wholesale condemnation of this tentative work. For example, we owe the two opening sentences of Morning Prayer, "The Lord is in his holy temple" and "From the rising of the sun," to The Proposed Book, and also the special form for Thanksgiving Day. And yet, on the whole, the Convention of 1789 acted most wisely in determining that it would make the Prayer-book of the Church of England, rather than The Proposed Book, the real basis of revision. It did so, and as a result we have what has served us so well during the first century of our national life—the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The points wherein the American Prayer-book differs from the Prayer-book of the Church of England are too numerous to be catalogued in full. "They will appear," says the Preface (a composition borrowed, by the way, almost wholly from the Proposed Book), "and, it is to be hoped, the reasons of them also, upon a comparison of this with the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England."

The most important differences are the following: The permissive use of "Selections of Psalms in place of the Psalms appointed for the day of the month." This was doubtless suggested by the wholesale transformation of the Psalter in the Proposed Book into a series of selections.

The permitted shortening of the Litany is an American feature.

A number of the special prayers, as, for example, the prayer for a sick person, that for persons going to sea, the thanksgivings for a recovery and for a safe return, all these are peculiar to the American use. Extensive alterations were made in the Marriage

Service and certain greatly needed ones in the Burial Office. The two most noteworthy differences, however, are the omission from our Prayer-book of the so-called Athanasian Creed, and the insertion in it of that part of the Consecration Prayer in the Communion Office known as the Invocation. The engrafting of this latter feature we owe to the influence of Bishop Seabury, who by this addition not only assimilated the language of our liturgy more closely to that of the ancient formularies of the Oriental Church, but also insured our being kept reminded of the truly spiritual character of Holy Communion. "It is the spirit that quickeneth," this Invocation seems to say, "the flesh profiteth nothing." Quite in line with this was the alteration made at the same time in the language of the Catechism. "The body and blood of Christ," says the English book, "which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

"The Body and Blood of Christ," says the American book, "which are spiritually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

Many verbal changes are to be found scattered here and there through the book, some of them for the better, some, perhaps for the worse. The prevailing purpose seems to have been to expunge all obsolete words and phrases while dealing tenderly with obsolescent ones. In this course, however, the revisers were by no means always and everywhere consistent.

"Prevent," in the sense of "anticipate," is altered in some places but left unchanged in others. In the Visitation of Prisoners, an office borrowed from the Irish Prayer-book, the thoroughly obsolete expression, "As you tender," in the sense of "as you value," the salvation of your soul, is retained.

From the Psalter has disappeared in the American Book "Thou tellest my flittings," although why this particular archaism should have been selected for banishment and a hundred others spared, it is not easy to understand.

Perhaps some sudden impatience seized the reviser, like that which moved Bishop Wren, while annotating his Prayer-book, to write on the margin of the calendar for August, "Out with 'dog days' from among the saints."

Considering what a bond of unity the Lord's Prayer appears to be becoming among all English-speaking worshippers, it is, perhaps, to be regretted that our revisers changed the wording of it in two or three

places. The excision of "Lighten our darkness" must probably be attributed to the prosaic matter-of-fact temper which had possession of everybody and everything during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The Ordinal, the Articles, the Consecration of Churches, and the Institution of Ministers, made no part of the Prayer-book as it was set forth in 1789, nor do they, even now, strictly speaking, make a part of it, although in the matter of binding force and legal authority they are on the same footing.

The Ordinal and Articles are substantially identical with the English Ordinal and Articles, save in the matter of a reference to the Athanasian Creed and several references to the connection of Church and State. The Consecration of Churches and the Institution of Ministers are offices distinctively American. If I add that the American book drops out of the Visitation of the Sick a form of private absolution, and greatly modifies the service for Ash-Wednesday, we shall have made our survey of differences tolerably, though by no means exhaustively complete.

And now what is the lesson taught us by the history of the Prayer-book? Homiletical as the question sounds, it is worth asking.

We have reviewed rapidly, but not carelessly, the vicissitudes of the book's wonderful career, and we ought to be in a position to draw some sort of instructive inference from it all. Well, one thing taught us is this, the singular power of survival that lives in gracious words. They wondered at the "gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth," and because they wondered at them they treasured them up.

Kind words, says the child's hymn, can never die, neither can kindly words, and kindly in the deepest sense are many, many of the words of the Common Prayer; they touch that which is most catholic in us, that which strongly links us to our kind. There is that in some of the collects which as it has lasted since the days when Roman Emperors were sitting on their thrones, so will it last while man continues what he is, a praying creature.

Another thing taught us by the Prayer-book's history is the duty of being for ever on our guard in the religious life against "the falsehood of extremes."

The emancipated thinkers who account all standards of belief to be no better than dungeon walls, scoff at this feature of the Anglican character with much bitterness. "Your Church is a Church of compromises," they

say, "and your boasted *Via media* only a coward's path, the poor refuge of the man who dares not walk in the open." But when we see this Prayer-book condemned for being what it is by Bloody Mary, and then again condemned for being what it is by the Long Parliament, the thought occurs to us that possibly there is enshrined in this much-persecuted volume a truth larger than the Romanist is willing to tolerate, or the Puritan generous enough to apprehend.

A third important lesson is that we are not to confound revision with ruin, or to suppose that because a book is marvellously good it cannot conceivably be bettered. Each accomplished revision of the Book of Common Prayer has been a distinct step in advance. If God in his wise Providence suffered an excellent growth of devotion to spring up out of the soil of England in the days of Edward the Sixth; and, after many years, determined that like a vine out of Egypt it should be brought across the sea and given root on these shores, we need not fear that we are about to lose utterly our pleasant plant if we notice that the twigs and leaves are adapting themselves to the climate and the atmosphere of the new dwelling-place. The life within the vine remains what it always was. The growth means health. The power of adaptation is the guarantee of a perpetual youth.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

BY RICHARD ROTHE.

(Condensed translation by Rev. Charles C. Starbuck, Andover, Mass., from the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, pub. at Freiburg, by Drs. Hase, Lipsius, Pfleiderer, Schrader. XV. Jahrgang, 3. Heft, June, 1889. PRELIMINARY NOTE by Dr. Karo, Archdeacon at Chemnitz.)

[THE following is the exact reproduction of the introductions to the two leading divisions of Rothe's prelection upon Symbolics, essentially according to a carefully prepared report of the year 1860. Everything appertaining to literary history has been omitted, and this only, especially the remarks respecting the origin and formulation of the oecumenical symbols, as we were only concerned to communicate Rothe's peculiar apprehension of the topic. This has led us to content ourselves with simply adjoining the final result of the symbolic process. We had the less scruple to give up the present delineation of the individual dogmas, as Rothe's views upon them are known from his prelections on Dogmatics (published by Schenkel), and

partly also from his essay, *Zur Dogmatik*. Our communication seems to deserve particular interest in the present historical juncture.]

I.

GENETIC CONCEPTION OF CATHOLICISM.

The Catholic conception of doctrine, especially in its completely developed form as Roman Catholic, is not the purely and genuinely Christian. But it is very far indeed from being an accidental growth, a late intruder. It is not an arbitrary manufacture, but a plant of altogether natural growth, the consistent product of the point of view on which the most ancient Christendom has from the very beginning apprehended Christianity, the apprehension of Christianity as CHURCH. When Christianity, on principle, was brought into the form of the Church, it could not fail to assume precisely this shape. Hence the tenacity with which the Catholic Church has maintained itself. Protestantism, while it rightly sees in Catholicism a degeneration of Christianity, must at the same time recognize the ecclesiastical form as one that contradicts the essence of Christianity. Of this Catholicism is itself the actual proof. That Christianity was from the very beginning viewed and developed as Church was something necessary, essentially involved in the course which the development of mankind through Christianity *must* take, an unavoidable historical necessity.

What form of Christianity must consistently result for us from the assumption that Christianity has to secure its position in the world as Church; that the community, by means of which it has to seek the realization of its idea, is a Church? What means this: Christianity is in its essence Church? It means: Christianity, according to its essence, finds its actualization in a community, which, *immediately*, is *exclusively religious*, communion of *piety*, not in a religiously *ethical* community, but in one *merely* religious, not in one in which *piety* has its existence in morality *as such*, as animating it and receiving its contents from it, but a community in which the object in question is *Piety* and *nothing else*, and this, moreover, *purely as immediate*, absolutely for itself alone, in complete abstraction from anything else, in which it might exist, and therefore from the ethical as such.

Here it is not the current conception of the Church which lies at the foundation. We are accustomed to regard Church and Christianity as identical. There is confu-

sion of view as to the relation of the Ethical and the Religious. To the question concerning the nature of the Church we almost invariably receive the answer : The Church is the Religious Community. But this definition is too broad. It rests on the assumption that there is no other religious community than the Church. But is she the only community of religious nature ? The Family is no less so ; a family without piety is to the Christian inconceivable. Nor will the Christian dispute that this applies also to the remaining social spheres. A flourishing art life is not possible without religious apprehensions and spirit. Even so is it in scientific life : the idea of God is the true illuminating light in Science. The same is also to be said of social and of public life. It must, therefore, be said of the great sphere which combines them all to organic unity, of the STATE. That the Church is a religious community does not distinguish her from the other human circles of society ; they are *human*, and Man is, what he is, as the image of his Maker. The others are likewise all devout, religious associations, but not as though this were the *only thing* in them, nor indeed that which is *immediately* expressed by them, but they have yet another object of the association, and this primarily a *natural* object. The family rests upon Sex ; Art and Science upon the World as object of individual or universal Cognition ; social and public life upon the World as object of individual and public Transformation ; the State upon the World as object of the ethical functions in their totality. To this natural object, *immediately*, the association refers itself, and therefore to something ethical, in such a way that it makes it the organ of religious feeling. But with the *Church*, in distinction from these spheres, things are altogether different ; she has to do *alone* with religious feeling *as such*, the other forms of association with religious feeling according to its interior essential relations to morality. The Church is *purely* religious association. Even assuming that the development of mankind had been normal, this purely Religious Community is an absolutely indispensable *element* therein, it is the basis for the pure development of all other forms of association ; it is the *universal* community. But when it is said : The Church is the *essential* form of Christianity, or : if Christianity has to realize itself as a community, this is the Church, this signifies : The community, in which Christianity has to develop itself, is a simply religious one. This has for Christianity itself momentous and ominous consequences. If

Christianity is to find its realization essentially in such a community, this can only be grounded upon a corresponding feature of its own essence, in this, that Christianity is *only* religious feeling, simply *immediate* devoutness or Religion, a religion to which it is essential to be, purely and isolatedly, Piety, a religion which is independent of everything else which is not immediate Devotion, which is therefore a piety whose contents and conditions are not ethical. This involves the assumption that in Christianity no teleological reference of morality to piety finds place, no reciprocal conditioning of the one by the other. This view is only then possible, when the Ethical as such and in the significance which in itself appertains to it has as yet not even come into the consciousness, when it is, indeed, in a measure acknowledged *materialiter*, but is, as yet, *formaliter*, not at all discovered and understood. Piety (Frömmigkeit) ensues when Man is referred to God, as conditioned by this reference. It is that definite form of human existence, which it has through its relation to God. Quite independently of this stands Man in relation to himself and to the world surrounding him. By virtue of this conception an altogether definite mission is placed before him. Here is an entirely new sphere, the ethical. Man, as a personal being, is appointed to an activity directed upon himself and upon the world surrounding him. This appointed work stands interiorly in the most indissoluble relation to the religious function. Only by accomplishing the ethical can he accomplish the religious. These requirements of the ethical destiny are, therefore, first adopted by Religion, and brought to men as requirements of God. So in the Old and yet more in the New Testament. Moses brings the Decalogue not as the summary of the ethical commandments, but as written with the finger of God, as the expression of the Divine will. This is, therefore, *materialiter* ethical commandment, but in the form of the religious commandment, the thought of the *ethical* commandment not being present. It is a great distinction, whether the thought of the ethical itself has already come into man's horizon, or whether he as yet knows no other thought than that of Religion. For then his acts and omissions will only refer themselves to the ethical commandments in that proportion in which they are *religious* requirements. The rest will be to him "World," if not altogether a thing repugnant to piety. Whether in *my own nature* anything lies that requires these commandments is there not at all reflected upon.

The temptation is always strong, to esteem Piety *only as such*, when it appears in the uniform of piety, is served up on a salver. The deepest piety is precisely that which does not make its appearance for itself alone.

It is not doubtful, that that conception of Christianity is one that stands in the most cutting contradiction to the innermost being of Christianity. The essence of Christianity is to be, not *mere* Religion, but Piety and Morality in consummate interpenetration; it demands absolutely religious morality and ethical piety. So long as Christianity is Religion, its essence consists in this, that it is absolutely *ethical* Religion. The essence of Protestantism is, that it is religiously *ethical* Christianity, therefore not the *ecclesiastical*, but the *civil, secular*, Christianity. Of this Catholicism knows nothing, its essence is to be merely Catholic *religion*. But here we have as yet held entirely aloof from the question, how the apprehension of Christianity as Church stands related to Christianity. Here is to be inquired, what form of Christianity would necessarily result, if one would conceive it as *essentially Church*, therefore as *essentially mere*—*i.e.*, not ethically mediated Religion? The inevitable next consequence which, in its principle, includes all the rest in it, would be a one-sided, exclusive, absolute Supernaturalism. Christianity undoubtedly is, in its innermost nature, Supernaturalism, but it is not *mere* Supernaturalism. It is, unquestionably, an essentially Divine, and therefore supernatural life, but not a *merely* Divine, but a theanthropic life; it goes back to God as its causality, but to his efficient activity in man as one which, on the side of man, is ethically conditioned and mediated. If now Christianity as ecclesiastical is to be mere, not ethically mediated, religion, the human function, which is interpenetrated with the Divine—*i.e.*, the ethical function, must be abstracted in thought. That Supernaturalism which is essentially specific to Christianity is here turned to *pure* Supernaturalism. This is, then, at the same time a *one-sided* Supernaturalism, while Christianity is at the same time both supernatural and ethical. From this point of view the essentially ethical function of man, and thereby the properly Human, vanishes altogether. This pure Supernaturalism appears in two different forms, which, however, can only have been given together: in *doctrine* it becomes Supra—or, it may be, Anti-rationalism; in *practice*, Magic, more exactly Theurgy (magic, which goes back to Divine causality). If one-sided Supernaturalism is

the character of Christianity, Christianity and Church must be ideally represented as having originated, and as now operating in a purely supernatural manner. Christianity as objective, the Christian institute of salvation, must then, by an immediate Divine positing, be already all that it has to be and immediately is. It is permitted to have no human development, it can and may not become anything through human mediation, which it is not already through Divine positing. It is permitted to have no history, for History is something natural. It must already have been given complete with the revelation of God in Christ, there can be no sort of talk of progressive transformation of the form of its manifestation according to the standard afforded by periods and nations and the steady mutation of manners and of the stage of culture, but all which helps to constitute the objective manifestation of Christianity must have been given complete at the same time with its entrance into the world; as it was in its birth-hour, it must remain immutably for all times. The one responsibility is to maintain Christianity as it originally was, by faithful Tradition. Every historical development would be something contributed by the Natural, Human, and would therefore prejudice its pure supernaturalness. The Christian Doctrine, especially, must have been given complete with the entry of the Revelation, and is not to be further developed by means of human science, else it would be also in part a product of the human cognitive activity. Now, Christianity is here presupposed to be essentially Church—all these deductions therefore apply to the Church *in concreto*. The Church must be conceived as immediately complete on all sides, and as to all elements of being, therefore as being likewise not exposed to human accidents and alterations. The Church, moreover, is neither capable nor in need of being bettered or perfected, she is also lifted out of the range of all corrupting natural accidents, therefore *incorruptible* and *infallible*. It is involved in her idea, that a guarantee must have been expressly provided for maintaining the original tradition unsullied.

As the Church must thus be conceived as having originated in a purely supernatural way, she must also herself be conceived as a purely supernatural institute. There must, therefore, also appertain to her a purely supernatural authority and plenipotence, without the interposition of a human mediation; by virtue of a purely supernatural—*i.e.*, magical relation to Christ, she must stand forth as Representative of Christ, her

existence must be to us *immediately Christ's presence*, and that His *effective presence*. So also her life and working is to be conceived as the life and working of Christ in her and through her, therefore not merely in her and through her giving effect to the Divine energies of Redemption, and her essence as consisting in this, that she suffers these to work out from her upon the world—this would be a thoroughly just conception—but these energies of Christ are further to be apprehended as living in her and working through her upon the world in a *purely supernatural manner*, in a way which, on the human side—that is, ethically, is unmediated, magical. The specific living functions of the Church must be conceived as consisting in the uninterrupted magical reception of these redeeming energies and in the uninterrupted magical communication of the same to the world. These energies must, therefore, be also *exclusively bound to the Church*, because as purely supernatural they are conceived as communicating themselves in a purely supernatural way, and cannot be conceived as given in any other institution than a purely supernatural one—*nulla salus extra ecclesiam*. To this end the Church requires an Organ, whereby she receives these supernatural energies in a purely supernatural, therefore magical way, from Christ, and communicates them to the world, and moreover she must possess it from the very beginning of her being *through immediate institution of Christ*. Christ has given the APOSTLES plenipotentiary authority to represent Him and to act in his Name, and equipped them with supernatural gifts. The APOSTOLATE is therefore the ordained organ of the Church for her Magic. But the life of the Apostles was only transitory. Yet with their departure the Church cannot have lost her instrument of working. The Apostolate cannot therefore have disappeared. It cannot, therefore, be conceived as inseparably attached to the persons of the Apostles, but as immortally renewing itself in the Church, as a Church Office. The Ecclesiastical Ministry must be conceived as an Apostolic Ministry, the Episcopate as a Continuation of the Apostolate, as a perennial renewal of the Apostolate, and, moreover, as propagating itself in a purely supernatural manner, therefore by magic transmission in the Church from predecessor to successor. This peculiar organ of the life of the Church is it also *in concreto*, wherein the immediate representation of Christ Himself is given in fact, it appears as the real Representative of Christ himself, *it acts as Christ's Vicar*, and that purely by virtue of its supernatural

endowment, quite irrespectively of the ethical quality of the persons, as to whether these are such that an operation of Christ can have been ethically mediated in them. The original Apostolate was administered by a plurality of persons; the like must also be the case with the Episcopate. If this Plurality is to be the vicarious operation of Christ, it must set itself forth for visible unity in a Primate as Organ of the unity. Even the Apostolic College had this in the person of Peter. So the Episcopate requires its Primacy. The latter, as the concentrated unity of the Episcopate, is then self-evidently *sensu eminenti* to be viewed as *vicarius Christi*. This Episcopate appears therefore as being, by exclusive vocation, Keeper and Interpreter of Tradition.

This fundamental view must also be the standard for the view of the specifically Christian form of human *Life*. That Life, which is required by Christianity, can, from this position, not be conceived as an actually *theanthropic* life, such a Divine life as is *interior* to man, not such a one as, without prejudice to its Supernaturalness and Divinity, is yet lived *in the man himself*, and from him as *personal centre*, but as one to which the man stands related as to something foreign to him. An inner renewal or divinization or sanctification of Man and of human society through Christ, from this point of view, does not at all take place. Christianity must thus, with its requirements, again become Law, and that not only on the practical, but also on the theoretical side. For even Faith remains something external to man, not mediated nor to be mediated, something to which he blindly grants his recognition as Authority (*nova lex*). More precisely it then becomes ecclesiastical *enactment*, and that as Divinely authorized. What appears now as the appointed activity of the Christian? The Christian life is essentially *ecclesiastical*, and only ecclesiastical life is really Christian, there is no Christian activity except as ecclesiastical. The individual can be accounted as of the actual, active Christians only in the measure in which he expressly lives in the service of the Church as her organ, as he is an *ecclesiastical officer*. In the proper sense, therefore, only the Clergy are Christians, the laity are only improperly Christians. The Christian Church can only consist of the actual Christians, and this involves the consequence, that the corporation of the Clergy alone is the veritable Church. The laity, it is true, are *in* the Church, but they are *not themselves the Church*, they are in the Church as the mere Object of her operation, not at

the same time as Subject of it. Therefore they can have in the Church no active, but simply a passive citizenship, and they are in thorough dependence, at every point, on the Clergy. The latter, over against them, is a Hierarchy. What purpose now must the Christian—*i.e.*, ecclesiastical activity, propose to itself? how will it desire to shape human life? It can set out for nothing else than to make human life into an *ecclesiastical* life—*i.e.*, into a purely religious life, a Cultus. The whole of Christian practice must thereby be apprehended as ecclesiastical, as purely religious, as appertaining to a cultus. The whole of human life is to be fashioned into a Mere Cultus, it must be used up *within the Church*, for only within the Church can it be Christian. After what type? As to this the decision is given by pure Supernaturalism. This assigns to Christianity a thoroughly negative attitude toward the natural human life. According to this the Christian cannot project for himself a world in analogy with the scheme of the natural human life, not in analogy with concrete reality, but only in direct opposition to this. The proper Christian world must, as it were, be a real world turned topsy turvy, not a reproduction of the actual in a glorified form, but a *fantastic* world (Romanticism of the Middle Ages). The attitude of this life to the naturally human—*i.e.*, ethical life must be a purely negative one. Regarded from this point of view the Christian life and the Christian community are *only Church*, and all that is *not Church* is in itself profane; a realm of Redemption, a Kingdom of God and Christ is only to be found so far as the Church extends. The whole *ethical* sphere is “World” and *profane*. Thus the mission of Christianity does not present itself as this, to renew and perfect the natural ethical life, which appears absolutely unresponsive of this (Pessimism), but to *remove it*, to *annihilate it*. The practical requirement, therefore, results to the Christian, to *renounce the world*—that is, the ethical life, abolish it in his own person, to withdraw himself from it. From all who will be *veritable* Christians, this renunciation must therefore be inexorably required. Especially must this be enjoined on all, who are destined to be express organs of the Church, and therefore on all clergymen (Celibacy). Only the Clergy and the Monks constitute the Church Proper as the perfect Christians, all the rest belong only passively to the Church. What thus appears as Christian perfection, is not universally practicable. The Church cannot ethically hallow the natural human life, nor

yet again annihilate it. In doing so she would at the same time annihilate herself, for it is her substratum. Natural sensuousness is, therefore, to be respected as something invincible. But the Church is in possession of a magical, supernatural power, by virtue of which she can render it her bondservant. Thus her mission shapes itself thus, that, without its undergoing an essential change of quality, it shall be brought absolutely under the power of the Church and therewith of Christianity, to paralyze its existence as separate from the Church, and in compensation to *transplant it into the Church*, and thereby to render it dependent on her, to condition it by her. It must be *brought into the form of Cultus*, and hereby be *sanctified* in a purely supernatural—*i.e.*, magical way. It must be overlaid with a network of Sacraments, all human acts and omissions be bound to the Church and thereby to the Cultus and Temple. Church, Cultus, and Temple must be everywhere carried out into secular life. This can only come to pass in a *merely external manner*, by transference of forms of a cult to the natural ethical relations of life—*i.e.*, *only symbolically*. Nevertheless, let it be done efficaciously. For as the operations of Christ are mentally presented as purely supernatural, *there is no need of an ethical mediation*, and the Church is in the immediate possession of the supernatural sanctifying energies of Christ, and of the power to set them in operation. Those symbolical acts effect without ethical mediation what they symbolize, *ex opere operato*. The Church will thus through the Sacraments magically hallow the natural ethical life, without ability or purpose to alter anything in its actual character, will by her sacramental acts apply forgiving and sanctifying Grace to the profane World and thus hallow this *realliter*. Naturally, *it is only the Clergy that can accomplish this action of the Church*, only the *active Church*, and this, indeed, is the vocation of the Clergy, levitically to hallow the profane lay-people by their consecrating acts, by impressing upon them, theurgically, the ecclesiastical signature. The laity, therefore, need not themselves to be co-operative thereby, they are merely *passive*, if only they do not expressly withstand the ecclesiastical action upon them (*obicem opponere*). Thus the Church through her clerical Priesthood will be continually expiating, theurgically, the sin of the world, which she has the consciousness of not being able to come at in fact. *Her specific life is lived by the Clergy, but for the Laity as well.* Everything

ecclesiastical is done by the Clergy for the laity likewise. All the latter's concern is trustfully to let it take place, or at most passively to look on. Thus the Clergy appears as Mediator between Christ and the intrinsically secular laity, these can only through those become partakers of redemption, and are therefore *absolutely dependent upon them*. The Clergy becomes a Priesthood, without whose intervention there is for the laity no Christ at all.

Notwithstanding these consecrating acts, the natural life persists in its estrangement from God, but the Church must peremptorily require of her adherents, to look away, on principle, from this fact, and assume that which has been hallowed by her in a merely external manner as being actually holy. Therefore, from this point of view, the tendency to a *naïvely fantastic idealizing of the natural human life* cannot fail to ensue. Therewith, however, there comes into this form of Christian piety, as its principle, an Untruth, a deeply poisonous lie. If thus the natural life, with all its sinfulness, is apprehended as not to be altered, and it is supposed that the sinfulness is covered up in God's eyes by that external signature of the Church, ecclesiastical Christianity must evidently form an exceedingly moderate conception of the sinfulness and corruption of the natural human life, and hold the natural condition of man for a decidedly tolerable one, for otherwise it could not content itself with the view of the real unhealableness of its malady. So far as it deduces the present sinful corruption from a Fall, it must believe that in this no more was lost than what the Church by purely supernatural infusion magically recommunicates to man. Ecclesiastically apprehended Christianity must decidedly incline in a *Pelagianizing direction*. It is strengthened in this by the fact, that by virtue of its one-sided Supernaturalism, according to which becoming and being a Christian is to it no ethical interior process, it can require of man a merely outer, passive attitude, his natural capacity for which is undeniable. The relative Ethical Indifference, which is inseparable from pure Supernaturalism, as cause and effect, is of itself Pelagian. And so also one-sided Supernaturalism must have a leaning to Rationalism, which is the same on the theoretical side as Pelagianism on the practical. As much as is conceded to human life thelematically must also be conceded theoretically.

Moreover, concerning the *relation of the Church to the State*, there results from this : when the natural human life is conceived as

profane and unchristian, that can only attain the dignity and estimation of a Christian life through ecclesiastical Magic, the Church cannot concede to it—*i.e.*, to the State, any rights or claims whatever over against herself, but must demand that it should unconditionally subordinate itself to her as the purely Divine ordinance. The Church must require of all the states of the earth such a subjection, and stake everything on compelling it. Only in this unconditional dependence are the states hallowed. If the Church would carry through this pre-tension, she must have a vigorous Organ, in order to conduct her spiritual power effectively to the goal. Here also there necessarily results the PAPACY.

The necessity of all these consequences cannot be overlooked, nor also, that *this Christianity is a caricature of real Christianity. But these are the characteristic features of Catholicism*. Yet it is not the *original Catholicism*. This contained only its living germs. The involved consequences actuated themselves only very slowly, amid many fluctuations. For what was apprehended in this form of Ecclesiasticism was really *genuine Christianity itself*. But this is in its essence neither more nor less than the absolutely ethical religion, and *materialiter* it manifested itself as this from the very beginning, only not *formaliter*. From its very beginning it addressed to believers the ethical requirement, but *not under the form of ethical*, but *exclusively in the form of religious requirement*, therefore not in the form of requirements which are grounded in man's own being, but grounded in the will of God. The concrete contents, which were included in the idea of the Church, offered therefore an express resistance to the conclusions to which that idea of the Church urged Christians. This resistance could not fail of partial success, especially as to the ancient Church the conception of the Church was not distinct, but only instinctive, although it thereby only worked the more surely. Through the ancient, especially most ancient Church, go two currents, which are opposed to each other and limit each other, the one proceeding from the idea of the Church, the other from Christianity itself, from the actual spirit of Christianity, therefore from the spirit which was actually effective through Christ in believers and the Church. But the former current more and more gains the upper hand. The actually existent Christianity, through a form repugnant to it, came more and more into straits, and must therefore be more and more deteriorated.

This, it is true, could only go on for a time, or the ancient Church would not have been the bearer of Christianity. In so far, undoubtedly, it is a self delusion of the Roman Church, when she supposes that she alone finds herself in identity with the ancient Church. But apart from this, she is entirely in the right, when she regards herself as the continuation of the ancient Church, and claims this character for herself alone. Yet that element constitutes always a significant distinction between the ancient and the present Roman Catholic Church. Down to the Reformation ancient Catholicism followed without embarrassment its inner impulse. A really clear protest, which should have attested to it the essential contradiction between its character and the spirit of original Christianity, had down to that time not encountered it. The present Roman Catholicism, the *Tridentine*, maintains the previous character of Catholicism, even since the historical development of Christianity has brought that contradiction to light—that is, against the explicit testimony of history, with tenacious refractoriness; it has sanctioned it and fixed it once for all by a Counter-reformation, by which it has forever cut off from itself the return to the original Christianity. From the time of the Reformation, therefore, the false Christianity of Catholicism became a veritable Anti-christianity, the Untruth became a Lie.

That Christianity from the very beginning was apprehended under the ecclesiastical form is a fact. But this was also *historically necessary*. After the Redeemer had entered into the history of the world and gathered for himself a little company of believers, the following questions could not fail at once to present themselves: What position has the believer on Jesus as the Christ as such to take in the world? He has to place his life at the disposal of the purposes of his Lord. What mission, from this point of view, has he to propose to himself in the world? Furthermore: The Christians are conjoined with each other through a drawing of love grounded in their common faith, and thereby immediately constrained to associate in a Community. A co-operation of Christians for the purpose appointed them in common by the Lord is utterly impossible without such an association, and, moreover, an *actual*—i.e., an *ordered* and *organized* community. But now what form is this to assume, that it may correspond to its purpose and its own nature?

After what plan shall the Christian community and its life be ordered? These

questions did not at the first present themselves to believers. For one thing, they found themselves already in a community of which they never even doubted that it was essentially that appointed by God for believers, in the Old Testament theocracy. Furthermore, they did not yet experience a lively need of a fixed Christian commonwealth, because they had no conception of an historical continuance of Christianity and an historical development of mankind by means of Christianity, but only awaited the immediately impending consummation of all human history through the speedy return of the Lord. The Lord Himself, in great wisdom, had not declared Himself as to these questions. Only so much had He intimated as to be self-evidently assumed, that His believers would constitute a community, an Assembly of the People, an *ἐκκλησία* (as *ἕκκλη*). Touching the form of this association He has never left fall a hint. This indefiniteness could not endure. The first occasion to weigh this question arose for Paul. He had attained to a clear insight into the specific newness of the Gospel in antithesis to the legal order of the Old Covenant. Thereby, for him, Christianity detached itself from the Old Testament theocracy. He assigned to it a distinctive position. But this involved the question, where these Christians should abide in the world. He answered it by establishing the idea of the *ἐκκλησία* in the Christianly technical sense of the word, by establishing the idea of the Christian community as a *purely religious* one on the basis of the unity of all Christians in faith and in love, and of the manifold charisms distributed among them. Another answer, indeed, was wholly impossible to be found. A *religiously ethical*—i.e., *civil* community could not come into mind. For Christianity was first known only as *Religion*, and knew as yet nothing of the dignity of the Ethical as such, and therefore as yet nothing of the religiously ethical community, the State, and of the relation of Christianity to it, as indeed the State of that time was incapable of acting as the bearer of Christianity. And the Christians could not build up their community within the State, as the latter at that time expelled them. But notwithstanding that Paul had definitely grasped the *idea* of a Church, the *carrying out* of it does not appear to him urgent, inasmuch as he, too, looked forward to the impending Parusia. The case changed with the year 70. From thenceforth men learned to distinguish in the prophecies of the Redeemer a double Parusia, and postponed the hope

of it. With the fall of Jerusalem Christians found the foundation of the Old Testament community to have given way under their feet. They must at all events make provision for the immediate future. So the Pauline idea of the Church was taken up and rendered practical. Indeed, there was no choice in view of the above-mentioned grounds, strengthened as they were by the hostility implied in the very principle of the pagan State. Until then nothing at all like a Religious System had been evolved out of Christianity; it was originally faith in Jesus as the Messiah, and thereby the Redeemer from sin and death, but not at all a summary of doctrinal statements concerning religion. Apart from Paul, Christianity had not yet been an object of scientific reflection. But in proportion as the faith in Christ spread abroad, especially among the scientifically cultivated, scientific thought could not but occupy itself with it. There must be an endeavor to construct a view of the world from this faith as a centre. The endeavors had very different issues. In great part they were endeavors to construe Christianity into heterogeneous views of the world (Gnosticism). Thus a profound falsification of the Christian teaching and thereby a corruption of Christianity itself was to be feared. Against this a remedy must be sought in all haste. This could only consist in an organic connection, which should conjoin Christians and place them under a unitary lead. Thus effective surveillance of doctrine became possible. The means was the knitting together of the individual Christian congregations into the organic whole of a purely religious commonwealth, into one Church, the erection of the *Catholic Church*, the universal church. The founding of a universal Church could not be carried into effect otherwise than by the institution of a Church office, an office for governing The Church, an office in itself unitary, but administered in *solidum* by a plurality of incumbents, and so extending over Christendom. This was the (proper) EPISCOPATE, and only with its establishment had the Church been founded. According to this original idea the Episcopate is an institution that rests upon a thoroughly clear and living idea of THE CHURCH. Thus the Catholic Church, although a corruption of Christianity, is in its origin and first development a phenomenon worthy of all admiration.

It was involved in these origins that her activity was of necessity directed to the conservation of *Apostolic Christianity*, and this by the careful Documentation, Definition,

Sanction, and Surveillance of the original apostolic TRADITION. Above all, this case must direct itself upon the Christian *Doctrine*. For this, by the conditions of the age, was most immediately endangered, and for the maintenance of Christianity in its purity the most important. It was the only field wherein the position of Christianity at that time allowed free movement. The oldest product of its labor has come to us in the APOSTLES' CREED. In this there lies as yet before us the pure transmission of the original Christian Common faith, and that in its original form, which has as yet passed through no dogmatic elaboration, in purely historical form. The symbol originated out of the primitive formulas for the confession of faith, which was exacted of catechumens; it is the primitive Christian interpretation of the baptismal formula, and therefore the expression of the common faith of the Church since the days of the Apostles. In its gradual evolution a purpose of antithesis to Heresy has had a part, but only as subordinate, and not in every statement. As a fully undogmatic, purely historical confession of the Christian faith, and as the only one common to all Christian churches, it is a jewel of imperishable worth, and we need not fear that it will ever become antiquated.

In reference to the fixation of church Doctrine the activity of the Catholic Church goes on yet for a good while. But the manner of proceeding had to modify itself. At the beginning the only concern was to guard what was Apostolic and hold aloof everything heterogeneous. This alone was in view in defining the *symbolum apostolicum*. But the Church could not stop here. Soon divergent apprehensions of this in detail arose in her own bosom. The quieting of these inner doctrinal differences was urgently requisite if the Church was to endure. This could no longer be compassed in the way of a mere recurrence to tradition, but only with the help of a scientific process—that is, of a theological process. There arose the need of a THEOLOGY. As its mission this presented itself—namely, to develop the church teaching into intellectually distinct doctrinal propositions, and thus to qualify it for being authoritatively fixed as DOGMA, the mission, therefore, to dogmatize, to translate the facts of the Divine revelation of salvation, transmitted as the object of faith, into intellectually distinct doctrinal propositions. What character this activity will assume may be apprehended from the nature of the position which the Church assumed. This was the churchly, the ex-

clusively religious, therefore one-sidedly supernatural. From this position the Church cannot be minded to accomplish her task with the means of that Science which is otherwise universally accepted in her historical circle; *not with the means of secular Science*, especially Philosophy, but only with means wholly apart, purely religious, *which stand exclusively at the disposal of the Church*—i.e., only with the help, on the one hand, of *Tradition*, on the other, of *Inspiration*. This will therefore necessarily constitute itself as a science apart, as *Spiritual Science*. As it, therefore, in its *principle*, is a purely supernatural one, its *tendency* must also be the purely supernatural—i.e., the *suprational*. Inasmuch as it brings the contents of the saving revelation into the *outer form of thought*, it will have no interest to demonstrate the *thinkableness* and inner evidence, the *rationality* of these statements; by virtue of its one-sided supernaturalism its assumption must rather be, that its statements must declare something *unthinkable*—i.e., not *relatively unthinkable* thoughts, which on a lower level cannot be consummated, but something *absolutely unthinkable*, logically self-contradictory. In the logical unthinkableness of the statements it will find its satisfaction. As the specific character of the ecclesiastical system of doctrine we recognize, therefore, an explicit *Supra- and Anti-Rationalism*. That this character is in conflict with the specific nature of Christianity is luminously evident for us. There was also requisite an Organ through which the Church formed and uttered the decisions which she by means of her Theology could form, and this under her own authority. This function could only be accomplished by the Church Office, which represented and in fact alone constituted the Church—namely, by the *EPISCOPATE*. This, according to its idea, was administered *in solidum* by the totality of all the individual incumbents; accordingly this function could be discharged only *by the assembled College of Bishops*. This was the Institute of the Church Assemblies, Synods, Councils of the Bishops. If this would intervene with the unconditional authority of the Church, it must represent the Church in her totality, the collective Episcopate—*CECUMENICAL COUNCIL*.

The object which in the Catholic Church must primarily draw thinking minds to itself was Christ Himself. In the essays to secure an intellectually distinct apprehension of Him, the results of those who occupied themselves therewith could not fail to diverge widely, especially before a definite,

universally practicable path had been broken. In Christ Himself it was primarily His Godhead, upon which thought directed itself, the absolutely supernatural in Him, the relation to the Father. This investigation, agreeably to its one-sided Supernaturalism, was not directed, by investigation of the idea of God, to the discovery of an element by virtue of which a real participation of Christ in the Godhead could be conceived, but endeavored to establish, in an entirely unmediated manner, the assertion of the real Godhead of Christ in its opposition to that of Monotheism. The tendency had not the least reference to the solution of the problem, but rather to the requirement that an opposition designated as insoluble should be acknowledged as truth. Exactly in such a formulation of the relation of Christ as the Son of God to his Father, in which the equal and full Godhead should be conceived together with the personal difference of both, could the one-sided Supernaturalism of the endeavor find its gratification. A formula of such a kind was the result at which the youthful Catholic theology arrived, as that which in 325, at Nicæa, was solemnly sanctioned by the first properly so-called Symbol propounded by the Church herself, the *NICENE*. This follows the general course of the Apostles' Creed without receiving into itself every particular detail of this, and maintains the full equality of essence of the Son with the Father, while rejecting every conception of the Son as created. This formula evoked long and vehement controversies, during which the Church came to the consciousness of the difficulties in the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The decision of the Church could only issue in definite parallelism with the doctrine of the Son. At the Second (Ecumenical Council, 381, the Constantinopolitan or *NICENO-CONSTANTINOPOLITAN* Symbol was defined, being only a repetition and further elaboration of the Nicene. With the *Nicænum* and *Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum* the *Symbolum Quicunque* or *ATHANASIANUM* was long conjoined. It was ascribed to Athanasius, yet now the most competent judges of both confessions are agreed that this assumption is wholly unwarranted; the most transfer it with reason into the fifth century. The Reformers placed it very high, and the Protestants accepted it as a symbol of full authority. Yet it has no manner of claim; it entirely lacks the formal adoption of the Church. In its contents it contrasts unfavorably with the other two by exclusiveness and intolerance toward every divergence of teaching.

After the interest for the sure establishment of Christ's Godhead had been satisfied, men turned to the other side, the relation between the Godhead and the Manhood in Him, the unity of both. In the treatment of this point also the tendency was determined by one-sided Supernaturalism. Men set themselves against every thought of a mediation—*i. e.*, an *ethical* mediation of both in Christ. The interest of bringing to consciousness the *thinkableness* of a *real* unity of both in Christ, the ancient Church did not know. Men were far from setting out from the idea of Man and seeking in this a point of attachment for a *real* interfusion and mutual unity. This theology merely insisted upon the pure *assertion* of a unity of both immediately posited by an act of absolute Divine power. In this sense there constitutes itself the Dogma of the Person of Christ as the God-man. The Council of Ephesus, 431, introduced the developments, though without propounding an actual Symbol. It was brought to consummation by the Synod of CHALCEDON, 451. These doctrinal definitions were completed by the Council held at Constantinople in 680 by occasion of the Monothelite controversies. It confirmed the doctrinal definitions of the earlier oecumenical synods, and opposed to the new error a new *ὁμος* as a declaration of the Chalcedonian Symbol in regard to the perfection of the human nature of Christ. In Christ there are, it affirms, as two Natures, so also two Wills and Energies, but which do not conflict with each other, but co-operate for the work of redemption, inasmuch as the human will subordinates itself to the Divine. Thereby this doctrine in the ancient Church was perfected.

In the West the interest turned toward the question as to the inner nature of the REDEMPTION brought through Christ, especially the question as to the relation of the operativeness of the supernatural grace of Christ to Man's own activity in the work of the Appropriation of Redemption. This question was handled from the inmost spirit of Christianity, and by that church teacher who was permeated more thoroughly than any one else in his age with the spirit of Christianity, and endowed with singular energy of understanding and will, by AUGUSTINE. He handled this question in the spirit of *Christianity, not of the Church*, and he gave for a while to Theology a corresponding direction, but not permanently. In his own work the ecclesiastical tendency crossed him, and this did not suffer a conclusive decision in the sense of Augustine to come into effect, nor indeed any such gen-

eral and earnest interest in the question, as would have been requisite to an official ecclesiastical decision. The Occidental Church expressed itself in this sense through various Fathers and particular synods, but without lasting effect, as the church tendency urged was strong toward the opposite site. The whole *practice* of the Church assumed more and more a *Pelagianizing direction*, despite the condemnation of Pelagius.

These anthropologico-soteriological questions were at that time indifferent to the Church as a *whole*. Her interest had, especially in the Occident, which alone comes into account, an entirely different bent. As early as the fourth century a new problem had arisen for the Church, which gradually postponed the properly theological interest to a practical one. During the first three centuries the *position of the Church in the world* had been a very simple one. The State as heathen repelled her as She the State. She had over against it to maintain the defensive. This agreed with the idea of the Church, according to which she had no concern with the State, and at the same time it gave the Church full occupation, which did not suffer her energies to slacken. But after Constantine the State assumed a friendly attitude toward the Church, and accepted the Christian profession. In what relation now should the Church place herself to the State? Should she, as hitherto, repel it? On the other hand, how could the Church assume toward it a positive attitude, inasmuch as, agreeably to her idea as Church, she had to see in it, even after it had accepted Christianity, a profane sphere? She could only recognize the State as Christian on one condition; she must render it obsequious to her service. The assumption of this attitude was, moreover, soon forced upon her by the immediate stress of events. In the covenant which the State had concluded with her, she felt herself very soon in many ways prejudiced in her freedom by the outward preponderance of the State, nay, in part injured in her innermost, holiest interests. The Church felt herself soon constrained into an unworthy dependence on the State. She could not but vindicate her freedom, and seek to extricate herself from the civil power. This could only be accomplished by *bringing the State under her own power*. In brief, the Church, especially in the West, proposed to herself *Dominion over the State* as the goal of all her endeavors, at first as constrained, then on principle, out of the consciousness of her own idea. This question outweighed all other interests, whether

the Church could *practically* carry through her constitutive idea or not. Especially did the theoretical, strictly theological interests, retire. She required the complete concentration of her energy at *one* point. The idea of the *centrum unitatis*, which is implied in the very idea of the Church, now presents itself in its full significance. If this *centrum unitatis* was to be a power over against the State, this power must be *unlimited*, unlimited also, *in the Church itself*. The ecclesiastical Primacy of the Roman bishop must be intensified into the PAPACY. This stood in conflict with the original idea of the Episcopate, on which the Church had been founded. The plenipotentiary authority, which belonged to the totality of the Bishops *in solidum*, was transferred to the Primate personally, and thereby the remaining bishops were *in fact* degraded. Thus with the Papacy the Catholic Church fell away from the idea on which she had been founded. But this was historically necessary, the condition of her self-preservation. It also offered a practical convenience. After the Church had so increased externally, and included nations so different, some such arrangement was an indispensable condition of a unitary church government. In conflict with the State there constituted itself a veritable Ecclesiastical State. Such a body can only be governed absolutistically. This explains the antithesis of the Episcopal and the Curial system within the Catholic Church. The former alone corresponds to the Idea of the Church, but it can never carry through its claims, because it is wholly unpractical in the actual situation of the Church.

Meanwhile there developed themselves in the inner life of the Church more and more consistently and variously the consequences, which are involved in the nature of the ecclesiastical development of Christianity, especially the legalistic character, Pelagianism, the magico-theurgic view of the appropriation of Redemption, and in connection with it the multiplication of the sacraments and the *opus operatum*. Christianity assumed in the Church ever more completely the form, which we have derived *a priori* from the conception of ecclesiastical Christianity. But now it also came to light, that that position itself, from which the whole development of Christianity had hitherto flowed, stands in inner conflict with the essence of Christianity. This necessarily involved a courageous breach with the whole previous historical development of Christianity and its principle. It involved a REFORMATION. This fact of the Reformation propounded to

the earlier Church the question, whether she would even thenceforth still persist in herself—*i.e.*, in *conscious* contradiction to Christianity itself. When now in view of this question the ancient Church in her leading organs decided affirmatively, when she *consciously* sanctioned as Christianity what had been unveiled by history as Spurious Christianity, then first was the present, the veritable, the ROMAN Catholicism born. That the ruling organs of the Church could make such a decision, without thereby apostatizing *fundamentally* from Christianity, results from the fact that the new apprehension of Christianity, which broke forth in the Church, was, from the beginning, indeed really until now, not yet clear as to its own meaning and tendency, and therefore, to the elder in itself very clear idea of Catholic Christianity, could oppose only a very unclear Protestant idea of Christianity. When now the ancient Catholic Church, over against the Reformation, decided to maintain herself, it presented itself at once as her next and unavoidable task, to gain an *intellectual* consciousness of her own Idea in full clearness and distinctness in its characteristic antagonism to the new Reformation idea of Christianity, and in the thus newly-gained light of this her own idea, as a standard, to test thoroughly her whole historically inherited condition, in order to put away from her every heterogeneous element which might in the course of so long a history have casually attached itself to her, and finally, after this self-sifting and self-purification, to express doctrinally her now distincter consciousness concerning herself. This necessity, indeed, must soon have supervened intrinsically. This necessity the Catholic Church complied with at the COUNCIL OF TRENT. At this Occidental Catholicism gave itself its definitive form. This Tridentine Catholicism stands forth in our time as a heterogeneous phenomenon, as an exotic growth. It must in its nature ignore the whole historical crisis through which the Middle Age has passed over into the modern time, and indeed ignore the whole modern form of the life of Christendom. It remains naively standing—with an *artificial* naiveness, it is true—on the position of the Middle Ages, notwithstanding that this has long become an antiquity. Its view of the world is essentially the mediæval, little suited as this is to the world in which it moves. Therefore also its system is so full of empty abstractions, that knock all simple human understanding on the head, and by means of sophisms are placed in a transiently illusory light. The Roman Catholic sys-

tem rests upon some few comprehensive premises, which securely include every detail. These foundation views are absolutely foreign to the cultivated consciousness of our time, which, of itself, would never dream of propounding them. The Catholic Church herself is shy of bringing them into the light. Clearly and definitely expressed, they would revolt the consciousness of the present in its deepest ground (especially their theurgic magic). On the other hand, in mystic *chiaro oscuro* they work so much more strongly the less distinctly it is known what it is which effects this operation. They do not admit of proof, but only of assumption. To do so tacitly is the astute practice of the Catholic Church. It belongs, therefore, to the essence of the Catholic Church that she pronounces judgment upon herself.

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH MONASTICISM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.* By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict. 2 vols. (London, 1888.)
2. *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich, 1492-1532.* Edited by Rev. A. JESSOP, D.D. (Camden Society, 1888.)
3. *Calendar of Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Vol. XI. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER. (London, 1888.)

From *The Church Quarterly Review*, London, January, 1890.

THE religious orders of the Reformation time have had a very unfortunate fate. Not only were they summarily turned out of their comfortable quarters and reduced to poverty, but they were scandalously abused and defamed. And almost ever since the period of their first troubles this abuse has been repeated and re-echoed. Of late years, however, a reaction has set in. It has now become the fashion, not only not to abuse the monastic bodies of the past, but rather to laud and magnify them, and to give them credit for a large amount of virtue and utility. This has been carried to a great excess by some quasi-historical writers. We welcome, therefore, gladly an historian of their own order, who has dedicated two handsome volumes to the account of English monasticism in the days of Henry VIII. In this well-written and carefully-executed work we shall find none of the

absurd exaggerations in which some writers have indulged, but, for the most part, an eminently fair and careful presentment of facts. "It would be affectation," writes Mr. Gasquet, "to suggest that the vast regular body in England was altogether free from grosser faults and immoralities" (i. 38); but he adds: "Anything like general immorality was altogether unknown among the religious of England" (*ibid.*). We are prepared to acquiesce in both these propositions; at the same time we are of opinion—an opinion formed from sources which Mr. Gasquet himself accepts as trustworthy—that the moral decadence of the monasteries was somewhat more serious than he is prepared to admit; that laxity of observance was the rule and not the exception; and that monasticism had so completely outlived its day that its suppression by some means or other was inevitable.

It would be difficult to find a better sketch of the condition of things in Church and State in the early days of Henry VIII. than that which is given in Mr. Gasquet's first chapter. The corruption and inefficiency of the Church, and the miserable state of the population, as these are sketched for us in Dean Colet's famous sermon, and Sir T. More's *Utopia*, are freely accepted by him. All things were crying aloud for a reformation. What form was this reformation to take? Could it be brought about by the monasteries, supposing them to be reduced to the primitive pattern, and to be abodes of zeal and devotion? By the very nature of the case this was impossible. For in proportion as monastic bodies are observant, so are they withdrawn from any contact with the outside world, and utterly incapacitated from influencing the general mass of the population. This was the persuasion of the wisest and best-judging men of that and of previous periods. Hence monasteries were no longer founded, but instead of them, great men sought to found colleges, and, on the general principles of utility to the community, thought it not amiss that the revenues of some of the most manifestly useless religious houses should be diverted to this more profitable channel. Such an arrangement does not, naturally, altogether commend itself to a Benedictine monk, and accordingly we have in chapter iii. a studied attempt to depreciate and vituperate Cardinal Wolsey. In thus running counter to the almost unanimous verdict of modern historians, Mr. Gasquet shows the courage of his opinions. He also shows his historical instinct, for it is certain that Cardinal Wolsey, more than any other man, was the

author of the design for the total suppression of monasteries. With him Thomas Crumwell learnt his lesson, and the King was only too ready to give ear to his advice. "Wolsey's Bull for the wholesale dissolution of small monasteries," writes Professor Creighton, "was the beginning of a process which did not cease till all were swept away."* Very interesting chapters are to be found in this volume on the Nun of Kent, the Observant Franciscans, and the Carthusians. In all these cases the savage spirit of King Henry and his advisers, the craft and duplicity of Thomas Crumwell, and the ready truckling of many, of whom better things might have been hoped, stand out in melancholy prominence. But, though the tints are subdued, there is nevertheless a colour given to the whole narrative by the skilful hand of Mr. Gasquet which is liable to convey somewhat false impressions. He would have us accept the statements of M. Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, as though they gave an impartial account of affairs, instead of a narrative carefully cooked and seasoned for his master's palate; and he even ventures to quote, and that frequently, Nicholas Sanders as an authority, quite in the style of the late William Cobbett. The sad tale of the Carthusians, the miseries of which can hardly be exaggerated, has been told still more recently by a modern brother of the order, and, were there nothing else to stamp the proceedings of Henry with indelible disgrace, this alone would be sufficient. Mr. Gasquet appears to be in error as to the number of the religious bodies which took the oath of the supremacy of the king and of renunciation of the Pope. He says: "The commissioners appear to have met with only partial success," and in a note puts the number at 105 (i. 248). Henry Wharton, however, declares that he had in his custody no less than 175 such documents, being those for thirteen dioceses, and that he knew where the remainder of the original subscriptions were lodged.† Canon Dixon is probably quite correct in saying, "The oath was taken in almost every chapter-house where it was tendered." The alacrity with which the religious orders hastened to abjure the Pope is no doubt distasteful to Mr. Gasquet, but he must have read the history of monasteries very differently from the way in which we think he has, if he is ignorant of the bitter feeling with which the monasteries regarded the Pope. How could it be otherwise, when all they knew of the "Holy

Father" were curses and not blessings, unjust exactions, and heartless oppressions? Mr. Gasquet is justly indignant at the slanders of the visitors of Henry VIII., but was anything much worse said by them of the monasteries of England than was said in the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. in 1489, ordering a visitation of the monasteries, which declares that it had been represented to him that the inmates of many monasteries in England led a lascivious and dissolute life, to the destruction of their souls, the offence of the Divine Majesty, and the disgrace of religion?*

The poor monks, indeed, in rejoicing in their freedom from the Pope, little knew what was before them. The petty persecutions and trying harassments to which they were subjected during the visitation of Crumwell's agents are well sketched in this volume, and illustrated by many quotations from the Calendars.

"We have very little information," writes Mr. Gasquet, "as to the misery and depth of anxiety which must have prevailed in the cloisters of England during this period. Their forebodings and communings with themselves on the events that were taking place around them must have been sad enough. It requires little stretch of the imagination to picture the dismay and consternation with which the religious must have listened to the reports of violence and injustice, which were carried to them as the visitors proceeded with their work. For years they had endeavoured to buy off the fatal day of doom by plentiful bribes to Crumwell and his master. On what was left to them they with difficulty supported their own existence and maintained the hospitality and relief of the poor which their traditional obligations required" (i. 283).

When, however, we find it set down as one of the greatest of their grievances that they were compelled to remain within the bounds of the monastery, we must remember that this was that to which they themselves were pledged, and the utter neglect of which had brought great scandal upon them and called forth repeated injunctions from their episcopal visitors. We should not quote these had not Mr. Gasquet expressly said in several places that he is quite willing that the actual state of the monasteries should be judged by the entries in the episcopal registers. "It is not too much to regard the evidence furnished in the pages of these episcopal registers as giving a faithful picture of the state of the religious houses" (i. 36). Now in the Register of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, we have a good many injunctions to nunneries in the years 1530-31. From those addressed to Elstow,

* Wilkins, *Concil.* iii. 631. A similar order had been made, on like grounds, by Gregory IX. in 1234. As an effect of the Papal order of 1489 came the revelation of the shocking state of the monastery of St. Alban's.

* *Thomas Wolsey*, p. 142.

† *Collier*, iv. 264.

or Ulnestowe, we find that there was absolutely no enclosure of the sisters; that they went and came as they pleased; that many of them did not attend the chapel services; that they indulged in smart dresses, having high head-gear with cornered crests, and embroidered dresses with scarlet belts, and ornamented shoes, "the veil thrown back like lay folk." The nuns of Nun Cottam are censured for being very remiss in their services, for great disorders in the house, the Lord of Misrule being allowed to be introduced, and men dressed up as nuns. The sisters are said to "wander about in the world," from which had arisen "many inconveniences, insolent behaviour, and much slander." The injunctions to Studley represent the same state of things—nuns gadding about, sisters bringing strangers into the house, great debts, corrodies granted unnecessarily, a superfluity of servants. We do not wish to assert that the strict enclosure enforced by Crumwell's visitors was in reality done with a view to restore discipline, but merely to suggest that the religious had put themselves out of court for complaining of it. The religious had, in fact, abolished their own system, and by the laxity and neglect of their rules, which everywhere prevailed, had made the way easy for the tyrannical and heartless treatment which was inflicted on them. Had it been otherwise the country would never have endured the dissolution of the monasteries as it did. As a matter of fact it cared marvellously little about it. The risings in the North, which are generally supposed to have been due to indignation at the suppression of the religious houses, had really but little connexion with this, as we shall show farther on. Mr. Gasquet is very indignant with the sweeping and atrocious accusations brought against the monks in order to pass the Bill of Suppression. He does not think that a "Black Book" ever existed, but as the same sort of charges are found in the *Comperta* which actually remain, this is of no great importance. That such a vile indictment should have been openly brought against a large body of men and women without proof, and on the bare assertion of interested men, is one of the scandals of history; but does Mr. Gasquet make his case the better when he brings on the other side a laborious accusation of venality, corruption, and utter want of principle against the whole Parliament which passed the Bill? He would excuse the monks by accusing the nation. Does he actually believe that that Bill would ever have been passed, or that shameful indictment been tolerated,

if those members of Parliament had not been individually cognizant of a certain amount of monkish scandals and *laches*, and if they had not been practically aware that the "religious life" had become a pretence and a farce, and that strict rules and ascetic living were almost unknown? When Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, was thinking of founding a monastery, his friend Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, wrote to him to urge him rather to found a college, for, he said, the state of the monastic bodies was so rotten that they must needs soon be swept away. So thought the nation. The thing had to be done; the mischief was that it was done in such a scandalous way. The question of the actual amount of immorality to be found in the religious bodies at the time of the dissolution of course occupies a large space in Mr. Gasquet's work. He does not contend for angelic purity, or for absolute exemption from scandals. He is quite willing to be judged by the bishops' registers. Indeed he specially refers to the Episcopal Registers of Norwich to refute the accusations made by Legh and Ap Rice against the houses in that diocese (i. 355). Now when Mr. Gasquet made this reference, was he aware of what those Episcopal Registers of Norwich did actually contain? They have lately been published by Dr. Jessopp for the Camden Society, and it is well that some of the statements contained in them should be weighed, in order to arrive at a right understanding of the real condition of the religious houses at this period. We give, accordingly, Dr. Jessopp's *résumé* of the condition of some of the chief East Anglian houses, as deduced from these visitations:—

"*St. Mary's, Wymondham, Benedictine Priory.*

"In the whole course of its history we hear little or nothing to the credit of the house or its inmates. The buildings were scandalously out of repair, there was scarcely the appearance of any discipline, there was hardly a pretence of learning and devotion maintained. For ages it seems that the Wymondham monks had been an unruly and disorderly set, and as they had been so they seemed disposed to continue. The condition of the monastery was disgraceful. There were free fights in the cloister; the brethren went in and out as they chose; the prior behaved like a madman; the servants were insolent; and, worse than all, more than one or two disgraceful instances of habitual drunkenness were reported; and there were grave suspicions of improper intimacies with women who obtained admission to the monastery."*

The Priory of Westacre (Austin Canons) is referred to by Mr. Gasquet (i. 351) as a house that had been grievously slandered by

* Dr. Jessopp's Introduction, pp. xiv., xv.

Crumwell and his agents. We turn to the reports of the episcopal visitations of this house as summarized by Dr. Jessopp. We find that in 1526 Bishop Nicke "found things very bad indeed." Again, at a subsequent visitation matters had not improved. There had been a terrible moral scandal, but on this we do not dwell. Dr. Jessopp appears to us to fairly estimate the case when he says that, if we had full information,

"we should find in the records of the last eighty years of the Priory of Westacre the history of the decline and fall of an Augustinian monastery, which was doing good work at the end of the fifteenth century, but which . . . in thirty years had become hopelessly deteriorated. It is difficult to see how such an institution could ever have recovered its character, or ever again have become what it had been."*

Mr. Gasquet especially commends "the severity of discipline and the mortified mode of life of this order" (Austin Canons) (i. 73). If, however, he will allow us to draw his attention to some of the episcopal utterances as to houses of this order he must, we think, confess that there were some remarkable exceptions. We have already alluded to Westacre, by far the richest house in East Anglia. What will he say to the following account of St. Mary's, Walsingham, of the same order?

"Of all the religious houses in the diocese the famous Priory of Walsingham seems to have been the most disorderly and demoralized. The moral and religious state of the community was disgraceful in the extreme. The prior was living a dissolute and scandalous life. He robbed the treasury of money and jewels; he went about in the dress of a layman; he kept a fool to amuse himself and his friends with his buffoonery; he was commonly believed to be keeping up an illicit connexion with the wife of one of his servants; he behaved towards his canons with the utmost violence and brutality; and the result was that the canons themselves were a dissipated, noisy, quarrelsome set, among whom the very pretence of religion was hardly kept up. There were evil reports everywhere, and not without foundation; for the canons frequented the taverns in the town and worse places, and hawked and hunted and occasionally fought, and scaled the walls and got out of bounds at forbidden hours. Some broke into the prior's cell and stole his wine, and some sat up all night drinking, and rolled into chapel and fell asleep and snored. It is a shocking picture, and it is evident that it is not coloured too highly."†

Again we ask did Mr. Gasquet really know what was in these episcopal registers when he appealed to them to confute the reports of Crumwell's visitors, or did he draw a bow at a venture? Before we leave this diocese we must say that the account of the great Abbey of Norwich is almost, if not quite,

as bad as that of Walsingham, and that Hulme and some other houses seem to have been very like hunting establishments, the number of dogs kept within the walls being grievously complained of by the more sober monks. To illustrate a little more the alleged exceptional excellence of the Austin Canons, we pass to the diocese of Lincoln. From Bishop Longland's injunctions to the well-known Abbey at Leicester in 1532, we gather that the abbot had not said Mass in the Church for three years, and had not celebrated High Mass on festal days for ten years; that he, too, like the Prior of Walsingham, kept a fool (*scurra*), who marched at the head of the canons when they went to chapel, "*et in choro, cum tu ibidem existis, se stolidè exercet, verbis, derisionibus, cantilenis, ac alias, canonicis in choro occasionem risus et dissolutionis manifestè prebens.*" It is hard to conceive such a state of things existing in a religious house. But there it is, under the bishop's hand, in a leading and conspicuous monastery—the house in which Cardinal Wolsey died. There are in this document two charges of immorality against individual monks, but these need not be quoted. We pass to Dorchester, another Austin house. Of this, the Bishop says that he has found certain abuses in it daily practised, which if they be not at once remedied it is to be feared that the monastery will suffer great mischief both in temporals and spirituals. We are much inclined to doubt whether the Austin Canons were better than the other "religious." Dr. Jessopp says their discipline was not so strict as that of the monks. He adds, "There were some Augustinian houses where the canons were living a harmless, pleasant life in society, much as fellows of Oxford or Cambridge."* We imagine this to have been very much the state of the case. The canons were about as useless as the monks. Bishop Longland absolutely prohibited the canons of Dorchester from serving parochial churches belonging to them, which was always to be done by secular clergy. If we turn over the annals of Dunstable, we may see how the canons of that troublesome house were hated by the townspeople and their neighbours. We are unable to discern anything which should make the country very anxious to retain either monks or canons for any special good they got from them. But it will be said that the doles to the poor were extremely valuable. This is a subject on which great misapprehension exists.

* Dr. Jessopp's Introduction, p. xxiv.

† *Ibid.* p. xxvi.

* Dr. Jessopp's Introduction, p. xxi.

The monasteries—the greater ones especially—were almost all in retired spots, far away from the centres of population. How could Fountains, or Furness, or Tintern, or Bolton, or Rievaulx benefit any great amount of the population by their doles of bread and beer? Yet we have what we can only designate as the clap-trap sentimental utterance by Mr. Gasquet: "Every pauper is made to feel, by the cold charity extended to him in the poorhouses of the country, how cruelly he was robbed of his inheritance, by the destruction and spoliation of the monastic houses of the land" (i. 395). If the monks were such efficient distributors of charity, how comes it to pass that the country people were in such a miserable state of semi-starvation as they are depicted by this writer, when he desires to lower the character of the period which tolerated the great iniquity of the suppression? Mr. Gasquet might have saved himself the trouble of penning the laboured invective against Crumwell and his subordinates to be found in chapters x. xi. Nobody now defends these men, or doubts their venality, corruption, and falsehood. But when this writer speaks with perhaps a justifiable exultation of Crumwell's fall, he might have noted the extreme injustice of it. The unscrupulous minister was condemned by the remorseless tyrant whom he served for the very acts to which he had been encouraged by the king; just as Wolsey was condemned for using the legatine authority which he had licence to use under the king's sign manual.

The second volume of Mr. Gasquet's history contains much interesting matter. He regrets that it was finished before the publication of Mr. Gairdner's eleventh volume of the *Calendar of State Papers*; but, notwithstanding this disadvantage, it is full of gleanings from state documents illustrating the rising in Lincolnshire, the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the dissolution of the various religious houses. Having had the opportunity of carefully inspecting Mr. Gairdner's volume, we have arrived at the conclusion that the dissolution of the religious houses had but very little to do with the risings in the North, and that the dispossessed monks took no prominent part therein, which makes the atrocious vengeance taken upon them for what they certainly could not help all the more unjustifiable. That the suppression of monasteries was thrown in as one of the grounds of complaint made by the rebels is doubtless true; but it does not appear to have been the originating cause of the movement, nor to have been the chief thing regarded in it. The

risings were mainly due to the influence of the secular clergy and the fear of losing the "jewels" of the churches, and in a lesser degree to the fear of the laity of having new burdens placed upon them. These movements, therefore, can hardly be used as a proof of the popularity of the religious houses, or of the deep affection felt for them. Mr. Gasquet says very fairly:—

"It is impossible to inspect the depositions of witnesses and examinations of prisoners on this matter without a conviction that the men of Lincolnshire rose in arms in defence of what they held to be matters of both Christian faith and practice" (ii. 49).

We shall endeavour to illustrate our position by some extracts from the careful summary of State papers in Mr. Gairdner's volume. On Sunday, October 1, 1536, there was a great gathering of the Lincolnshire clergy at Louth. The commissary of the Chancellor of the diocese was to meet them the next day, to assess their benefices for the payment of the half-subsidy due, to give them the Articles and Injunctions lately passed, and to inquire into their ability and readiness to preach as directed. There was a very strong feeling among them. They were not willing to accept the religious changes. They were not willing to have a fresh assessment made for their benefices. They objected, above all, to any inquiry as to their preaching powers. They had heard some disagreeable reports. Dr. Raynes, the Chancellor, was lying ill at Bolingbroke; but he had held a visitation the day before for the clergy of that deanery, and certain priests from Louth had been present, "to see what order the bishop's chancellor would take," and they had come back declaring that "they would not be so ordered or examined in their learning."* The laymen were also expecting on the morrow a visit from the king's proctor, to assess them for their subsidy, and were therefore quite ready to listen to the discontented parsons. Accordingly, speeches were made to them by the clergy, declaring that the jewels and ornaments of the churches were to be taken by the king, and only one church in five miles was to be left. Excited by this the men of Louth proceeded to take the keys of the jewel-chests from the churchwardens with force and violence. They chose as captain a cobbler named Nicholas Melton, and set a guard to watch the church all night.†

"The priests were the occasion of this business. The parsons of Stewton, Manby, and Welton gave them money. The parson of Helloff offered them

* *Calendar of Papers of Henry VIII.*, xi. No. 975.

† *Ibid.* Nos. 968-970.

40*l.*, and the parsons of Somercokes and Welton and dean of Muckton encouraged them."*

The upshot of this was that when the bishop's commissary arrived on the Monday he was mobbed and his books were burned. The clergy then hastened off to their several parishes to rouse their people. On Tuesday, October 3, they mustered at Caistor, twenty thousand strong. Then they seized the gentry, and made them swear to be true to their cause, and Lord Burgh having escaped, they hanged his servant. All the books relating to the subsidies were burned, and about eightscore priests joined the movement.† At the neighbouring town of Horncastle things were proceeding even more fiercely. Here the unfortunate Chancellor, who had been dragged from his sick-bed at Bolingbroke, was savagely murdered.‡ They also hanged one Wolsey, principally, it would seem, on account of his name, and nearly murdered other officials. A banner was now constructed and a proclamation put forth, and the insurgents, drawing large contingents from all quarters, prepared to march on Lincoln. With all this the monks had nothing to do. Dr. Makarel, Abbot of Barlings, who appears afterwards as a leader, did not join the movement till the Thursday, and then upon compulsion.§ Henry Thornben, cellarer of Barlings, deposes :

"Heard that church jewels should be taken; and after that all cattle unmarked should be confiscated. Thinks that the cause of the insurrection. Never saw ruler of religious house in the host, except his master. Saw monks of Bardney and Kirksted, and a canon, late of Welbek, and many priests."||

Want of space prevents us following up the movement to its termination, but it may be observed that in the list of the grievances put forward by the insurgents there is no mention of the dissolution of the monasteries. Their alleged grievances are : (1) That every man is to bring his gold to have the touch of the Tower ; (2) that there is only to be a church for every five miles, and that all the chalices, jewels, &c., are to be taken ; (3) that every man is to be sworn as to the amount of his substance, and if this be found more his goods are to be taken ; (4) that no man shall eat white bread, goose, or capon without paying a "certain" to the king ; (5) that a noble is to be paid for every wedding, burying, or christening ; (6) that all cloth is to be brought to a certain place and sealed, and

if it "go in or shrink" the goods of the maker to be forfeited.* This was evidently completely a rising of the peasantry and yeomen, stirred up by the clergy.

Of the far more important rising in Yorkshire, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, which assumed almost the proportions of civil war, we have not left ourselves much space to speak. In the twenty-four demands put forward by the "Parliament at Pontefract," the restitution of the monasteries forms one item, and that of the Friars Observant another.† But the twenty-two other singular demands show that this, too, was completely a movement of the clergy and the occupiers of land, and testify to the profound disgust with which the whole policy of Henry VIII. was regarded. In the king's terms offered to the insurgents nothing is said about the restoration of the monasteries, neither does this appear to have been insisted on by them. After his return from London we find Robert Aske, the leader, visiting some of the abbeys to which the religious had returned, and arranging that for a time the king's farmers should be reinstated in their charges.‡ We are inclined to believe that, could the insurgents have obtained the other concessions they desired, they would have been quite willing to abandon the monasteries. The monks were neither the movers in the revolt, nor in any special way the cause of the movement. Yet upon these unfortunate men the savage vengeance of the king principally fell. Mr. Gasquet examines at length the king's assertion that "all these troubles have ensued by the solicitation and traitorous conspiracies of the monks and canons of those parts," and shows clearly enough that this assertion is false. Yet there came forth that brutal order from the king to the Duke of Norfolk : "We desire you at such places as they have conspired, or kept their houses with force since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall without pity or circumstance cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony."§ "There can be no doubt," writes Mr. Gasquet, "that the abbots and monks now tried and put to death fell victims to Henry's cupidity and sanguinary vengeance, and that they did not suffer for their own misdeeds" (ii. 158). Treachery and breach of promises were added to cruelty. The promises made by Henry's generals during the insurrection were not regarded, and everywhere terror

* *Calendar of Papers of Henry VIII.*, xi. Nos. 970-972.

† *Ibid.* No. 233.

‡ Gasquet, ii. 63.

§ *Calendar of Papers of Henry VIII.*, xi., No. 805.

|| *Ibid.* 238, No. vi.

* *Calendar of Papers of Henry VIII.*, 768, 2.

† *Ibid.* No. 1246.

‡ Gasquet, ii. 125.

§ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, i. 537.

and confusion prevailed. It is impossible to read the chapters in which Mr. Gasquet details the circumstances of the suppression of the various abbeys, as extracted from ancient documents, with graphic skill and power, but with no exaggerated denunciations, without feeling the deepest sympathy and pain for these oppressed people.

One thing, however, we must observe, which certainly does not tend to raise the character of the "religious" of that day, though it may be excusable under the circumstances. "The final catastrophe of Woburn was hastened," writes Mr. Gasquet, "through the malicious informations of discontented monks, who here, as in many monasteries of England at this time, served Crumwell as spies upon the acts and words of their superiors and brethren" (ii. 193). In connexion with this may be noted the fact, which appears in many of the bishops' injunctions, that wranglings and bitterness and quarrels were by no means unknown in many monasteries. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? A number of undisciplined and ignorant men, thrown together in the closest intercourse, and constantly subjected to the same vexatious rules, might naturally be expected to be somewhat inharmonious, and apt at tale-bearing and petty intrigues. To judge from the Injunctions this state of things was also not unknown in the nunneries. But there is really no case against the nuns on the ground of immorality. Out of the 140 convents of women at the time of the dissolution only twenty-seven nuns in all of them are charged with vice.* In the Norwich visitations only one nun is noted for a lapse. A worse case, indeed, than any in the visitors' reports is noted of the Convent of Littlemore in Bishop Attewell's visitation book. But these few cases prove nothing against the whole body, and the cruelty of ejecting these poor women, many of whom were aged and infirm, is something hideous and repulsive.

"The nun's lot," writes Mr. Gasquet, "had no such ray of consolation as that of the monk. Even had the circumstances attending her dismissal from conventual life been more fortunate, or the result of her own act or choice, her future must have been dark and uncertain, since the vows which bound her heart and conscience must keep her always apart from the secular surroundings in which she was compelled to exist" (ii. 208).

But amidst our earnest sympathy for the nuns we must not lose sight of common sense. When Mr. Gasquet dwells upon the blessing given to the country by the teaching of the nuns, it should be remembered

that this "teaching" was by no means provided for "the youthful poor," but for the daughters of great families, who came and dwelt in the nunneries, and paid the sisters handsomely. And when to "the bounty of these religious ladies" it is said that a great number of secular clergy owed their position, as the "titles" in the registers show, this is really a little too much. The monasteries, both male and female, had for centuries been filching from the secular clergy their lawful maintenance, had been acquiring appropriations of churches, which often, until compelled by the bishops to act otherwise, they had left without any pastoral care. The convents could, of course, in no case furnish this care of themselves. When, then, they appoint a chaplain, under episcopal threats, to minister in one of the churches whose tithes they had stolen, this is called their bounty! * We are compelled, by want of space, to pass over the chapter on the fall of the friars, once so popular in England, but long before their fall the objects of unmitigated satire and contempt; and also the extremely interesting chapter on the three Benedictine Abbots of Glastonbury, Reading and Colchester. That Mr. Gasquet should feel deeply and write strongly on the cruelty and rapacity of the dissolution, the abominable desecration of holy things, and the horrors which were rampant everywhere, is only what was to be expected, and almost everyone will sympathize with him now. But this is no reason why he should make such absolutely unhistorical statements as the following:—

"Little by little the broad acres and ecclesiastical benefices, upon the revenues of which not only had the monks and nuns subsisted, but which had served to support the poor, aged and sick of the country, and for other public and national purposes, passed away into private hands without having contributed any substantial advantage to the country or crown, and unburdened by any condition of service to the commonwealth or particular district, which had hitherto characterized its tenure" (ii. 392).

Upon this marvellous sentence we have to remark, first, that if the monks were living on the revenues of ecclesiastical benefices, they were living on that which they had obtained by robbery and injustice; secondly, that they did not support the poor, aged and sick of the country, or how could such a state of things have existed as Sir T. More sketches in his *Utopia* (1516), or, as Mr. Gasquet himself has described in the earlier part of his work? thirdly, that the monks did almost absolutely nothing for

* Gasquet, ii. 205.

* Gasquet, ii. 221.

"public and national purposes," but by engaging a number of able-bodied persons in a useless life, and being exempted from the ordinary taxation, thwarted and checked them; fourthly, that it is not true that the monastic property when alienated did not contribute any substantial advantage to the country or crown, as Mr. Gasquet has himself shown in the next chapter; fifthly, that it is absurd to say that the new holders were unburdened by any condition of service to the commonwealth, inasmuch as they were citizens subject to the ordinary laws and burdens of the State, from which the monks escaped. Mr. Gasquet no doubt can see no especial virtue in the character and spirit of the English country gentleman, which came out with such vigour in the next generation, scattering the feeble designs of popes and monks, Spanish armadas, and bulls of deposition; but Englishmen are not likely to forget it, nor to fail to connect it very distinctly with the raising and strengthening of so many country families by the monastic lands.

We can admire very cordially this work. It is a monument of patient and careful research, it is admirably written, and for the most part eminently fair. But the general conclusions as to the value of monastic institutions, and as to the mischief accruing to the country by their extinction, seem to us to be absolutely ludicrous. We have studied the history of many of these institutions, and what do we find to be the most familiar topics and incidents? Constant aggressions on their neighbours, constant lawsuits, unceasing endeavours to get hold of advowsons and to farm churches, unscrupulous resistance to the bishops' visitations, and, in later times, utter disregard of their rules. That monasteries had done much good in their earlier days—that the Cistercians had improved land, the Benedictines preserved and executed many admirable manuscripts, the Carthusians exhibited a wonderful and constant asceticism and a very high tone of devotion, we don't deny. We utterly repudiate the slanders of the *Black Book* and the *Comperla*. We believe that the average rate of morality among monks and nuns was a fair one. But as to their usefulness, their value to the country, we are altogether at issue with their able defender. They were an absolute obstruction to all progress, and they needed to be removed. That this was done in so shocking a manner, and with so many circumstances of shame and horror, has no doubt tended to cause a strong reaction in their favour in these days, when the history of the reign of Henry VIII. may be

said to have been opened for the first time. But to the calm judgment the main issue remains the same, however picturesque, romantic, and touching may be the details with which it is surrounded.

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT.

BY ARCHDEACON FARRAR, D.D.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), February, 1890.

It is not of my own accord that I write these few words on the great and good Bishop—the great scholar, the great theologian—whom death has taken from us at the comparatively early age of sixty-two. Although I have known and loved him for more than thirty-five years, there are many far better qualified than I am to pay their tribute of affection and gratitude to his honoured memory. All that I can write may be, and will be, inadequate; and it is only owing to the accidental inability of others, at short notice, to speak of his work and character, that I have consented to express the feelings respecting him which he, at any rate, would not have despised. He was my private tutor at college. He presented me with all his books in succession as they were printed. I heard from him not unfrequently. He did me the honour to ask for such small help as I could render to good causes in which he felt an interest, more often than I was able to obey his call. I dedicated to him the best of the poor books which I have written, and when I sent him anything of mine it always evoked kind words, and sometimes kind suggestions. I tried to offer him "the shadow of a wreath of honour," which he did not need from me when he was living; I trust that I may at least be pardoned if I here offer to him, now that he is dead, the shadow of that wreath of grateful acknowledgment which he needs still less. I do not pretend to be able to reach high enough to place it on the forehead of his statue; but

"Ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis
Ponitur hic imos ante corona pedes."

No doubt his biography will be written by some competent and sympathetic hand; but, as in the case of his great and like-minded predecessor, Bishop Joseph Butler, he needs a biography less than most men. The facts of his inner life were revealed to few, perhaps fully to none. His letters were usually brief and business-like, and touched but rarely on his deepest feelings. He never "wore

his heart on his sleeve for daws to peck at." It will not be possible in his case

"For knave or clown
To hold their orgies at his tomb."

His best biography, his truest monument, is the great simple, unselfish life which the world saw, and the thought and toil accumulated in his books. Beyond such personal incidents as may serve to deepen the influence of his example by illustrating the beautiful consistency and single-mindedness of aim which reigned throughout his life, there is nothing about him to reveal, as there is nothing to conceal. How often have we read biographies of men intimately known to us, in which the chief fact of their history, and some one essential element of their character, has been intentionally or unconsciously omitted? And sometimes this has been the very fact which did most to make or mar their lives, or the one element of character which chiefly influenced their career. No mistake of that kind can happen in the case of the late Bishop of Durham. His career was uneventful in external incidents; the circle of his relations and intimates was small; his aims were definite; his character transparent from marge to marge. He lived a life fortunate and happy beyond what falls to the common lot; a life untroubled by a single tragic circumstance, if we except the prolonged trial of the illness by which he was at last prostrated. But through that long career of unbroken prosperity, in which he rose from the position of a middle-class boy to the enjoyment of a great revenue and the honours of a princely bishopric, he remained always the same strong, sincere, simple man, uninflated by his immense success as he would have been undaunted if it had pleased God to try him with failure. When he had experienced his own eminent capacity for the promotion which had come to him unsought, his friends noted in him what one of them described as a "solemn gladness." But no one ever saw in him the disguised self-satisfaction, the ostentatious condescension, the arrogant mock-humility, the airs of gracious patronage to old equals, which are but too common in smaller natures whom accident, or merit, or the wirepullers of party have elevated to some high position. The friends of his youth, however unfortunate their lot, however humble their circumstances, however unpopular their names, remained his friends. He did not forget them, or ignore them, or show them the cold shoulder, or oppress them with his magnificence, or make them wince under the exhibition of his social

superiority. The kindness which he showed as a young graduate to his juniors was maintained when he was a leading Bishop towards all worthy presbyters or curates. The generosity which led him to give a large sum when he was a Cambridge professor to the reredos of St. Mary's, made him spend his income with exemplary munificence, and build and endow the Church of St. Ignatius at Sunderland when he became Bishop of Durham.

It is this unity of his life which is one of its most beautiful characteristics. The prayer of Lightfoot must have ever been that of Wordsworth:—

"My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky;
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die.
The child is Father of the Man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety."

And that prayer was granted. There have been men whose youth, "full of idle noise," was in sharp contrast with their manhood; but at no period of life was Bishop Lightfoot unworthy of himself. It could never be said of him "*Dissimiles hic vir et ille puer.*" In this wholeness and wholesomeness of his life he resembled the great poet whose death was so nearly simultaneous with his own, to whom he once sought an introduction in my house, and whom he greatly admired. He would have said with Mr. Browning:—

"Have you found your life distasteful?
My life did and does smack sweet;
Was your youth of pleasure wasteful?
Mine I saved, and hold complete.
Do your joys with age diminish?
When mine fail me I'll complain.
Must in death your daylight finish?
My sun sets to rise again."

There are two lines, characteristic of the poet's view of life and duty, which I think that Bishop Lightfoot would have regarded as expressive also of his own aim and opinion; namely,

"Take one step onward, and secure that step;"
and

"Truth is the strong thing; let man's life be true."

It must not, however, be supposed that there were no elements of gaiety and humour in his character. Those who knew him, and saw him in the unreserve of his lighter hours—those who, even in his later years, have seen him among his "boys" at Auckland Castle—knew how playful he could be.

If any one fancies that Lightfoot never could have been a boy, he is much mistaken. If his character was of a grave cast, it by no means lacked a capacity for fun. Among other anecdotes of his schooldays some of his old comrades still remember how one day his much-loved master, Prince Lee, afterwards Bishop of Manchester, saw him standing on the master's desk, and called out to him, in his quick, energetic way: *κατάβα, κατάβα, κατάβα, κατάβα!*—

Καταβήσομαι, answered Lightfoot, with a broad smile on his face; imperturbably finishing the Aristophanic line.* Dr. Prince Lee has, I think, not found a biographer, but the eminence and warm allegiance of his pupils—among whom we may name, almost as contemporaries, the late Bishop, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Westcott—are among the many proofs of his exceptional power. The greatness of his pupils, as they would be the first to admit, was due in no small measure to the stimulative character of his teaching. His remark, “Ah! B—*μὴ φοβοῦ μόνον*

πίστευε,”† still rings in the memory of one of them. His recommendation of Barrow as a model did much to mould the style of another. The one word, *Σαλπίζει*,‡ which he chose to be carved upon his tomb, has had a potent influence over the imagination of a third. Prince Lee, though very unequal, sometimes spoke with great eloquence; and I remember a sentence of his,§ the spirit of which he must have breathed into the studies of his most promising pupils. It was this: “You must not only listen, but read. You must not only read, but think. Knowledge without common-sense is folly; without method it is waste; without charity it is fanaticism; without religion it is death.”

I first made the acquaintance of Dr. Lightfoot when I was an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, and he was a young Fellow of that foundation. Before I knew him personally I had often heard of him as the Senior Classic who was supposed to have sent up papers without a single mistake; and I remember how, night after night, the steady lamp might be seen burning in the window of his room, and youths would point to it and say, “There is the great Lightfoot steadily at work.” It was in one of the Long Vacations, when only the scholars and more studious undergraduates were allowed to stay up, that I became his private pupil. Those Long Vacations

were truly delightful times, to which many look back as to green islands

“Across the barren wastes of wandering foam.”

I can still recall walks to our afternoon bathe—in the old bathing-shed in the green fields by the River Cam—with him and with others who still live; and in one of those walks I remember the vivid “chaff” which he expended on one of his old schoolfellows, which showed me how much sense of the ludicrous and what powers of sarcasm lay under his quiet exterior and usually shy talk. But the sarcasm was never venomous. It was intended to heal, not to wound. It was

“Gentle satire kin to charity.”

I am not writing an indiscriminate eulogy, and I cannot say that Dr. Lightfoot was at that time specially eminent as a private tutor. It may be that he did not wholly like the drudgery; it may be that he had an unpromising pupil; it may be that his massive scholarship was not best displayed in the Greek and Latin composition which then occupied a disproportionate share of attention. He was always painstaking and conscientious, and he was kindness itself. Other pupils probably gained more from his tuition than I am honestly able to say that I did; but my deepest gratitude to him was due to all that I learned from him in later years, not then. I once offended him—I trust that it was the only time that I did so—by telling him when I got my Fellowship that he might have saved me many gloomy misgivings as an Undergraduate, if the Cambridge system had dealt a little more freely in words of encouragement. I said this, not by way of any personal complaint, but only from the deeply seated conviction on which I have always acted as a principle in education, and which to my knowledge has produced good fruits in the minds of some, that there are youths of diffident temperament, always inclined to undervalue themselves, to whom the total dearth of hopefulness about their own efforts, which their elders and betters might so easily inspire, produced the effects sometimes of mental paralysis, sometimes almost of death.

The secrets of Bishop Lightfoot's great career were the perseverance and the resolution which in the long run achieve greater results than careless genius, and are not liable to the same aberrations. This was remarked in him even as a schoolboy. “What is Joe working at now?” asked one of his school-fellows. “Is he learning German?” “Oh, no,” was the reply; “he has done with German, and has gone on to Anglo-

* Ar. Vesp. 979.

† Mark v. 36.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 52.

§ In a speech at the opening of the Bury Athenæum.

Saxon." In his earlier years he was not regarded so much as a man of brilliant originality and exceptional endowments as a man of untiring industry and indomitable purpose, devoted to the training of great and solid capacities. Thus he—as has often been noticed of another dear friend of past days, Bishop Cotton, of Calcutta—was a man who continually grew in power and ability, adapting himself to every office to which he was called. A favourite line of his old schoolmaster used to be Homer's

“αἶν' ἀριστεύειν καὶ ἐπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλον.” *

Dr. Lightfoot fully absorbed the first part of the exhortation in the sense of “always doing his utmost, and always being his best;” but I do not think that he ever allowed himself to covet the pre-eminence over others at which Hippolochus enjoined his son Glaucus to aim. For that ambition he would rather have substituted the line of Hesiod, which was so often on the lips of Socrates :—

κατὰ δυνάμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἐπὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. †

He put forth his best endeavours not only in matters of religion, but in the routine of daily life. Thus, when he became a Professor at Cambridge, his greatness was immediately established. The immense range of his acquisitions, the earnest efforts to do his work as well as lay in his power, were at once recognized by the Undergraduates. The frequent failure of Professors to win an audience is a matter of common complaint, and men as learned in their own domain as Dr. Lightfoot have not succeeded. But there was something electric in his quick sympathy with the young, in his masculine independence, in his strong practical good sense, in his matchless lucidity of exposition; and these gifts caused his lecture-room to be thronged by eager listeners. The late Master of Trinity was not given to enthusiasm, but once he did wax enthusiastic, as he described to me the passage between the Senate House and Caius College “black with the fluttering gowns of students” hurrying to imbibe, in the Professor's class-room, a knowledge of the New Testament such as was not open to their less happy predecessors, and such as would last many of them all their lives as a fountain of valuable exegesis in many a parish and many a pulpit.

And, speaking of the pulpit, I will say that Dr. Lightfoot's preaching furnished another illustration of the determination which carried him to excellence in every branch of work which he undertook. When

he began to preach he created no striking impression. He had received from Nature none of those gifts of person, and voice, and grace of manner which stand so many orators in good stead. His delivery at that time has been described as dull and monotonous, and he was perhaps conscious of the disadvantages against which he had to struggle. But he completely overcame them. As a *speaker*, indeed, he never attained, as a rule, to what would be called effective oratory, though those who knew what he was, and how impossible it was for him to say anything which was not worthy the best attention, would rather have listened to him than to almost any man. But as a preacher he achieved a greatness which will not be fully recognized until those three volumes of varied sermons are printed which are ready, or nearly ready, for the press. When they see the light, I believe that the general admiration of them will justify an opinion which I have very often expressed, that for massive splendour and majesty of style he was unsurpassed, and that, if matter be infinitely more important than manner, he should have been ranked as one of the first—if not the first—preacher in the Church of England. His sermons were often uttered with a suppressed fire which gave them the most powerful effect, and though the meaning of the word “rhetoric” seems to be lost, and that word is now generally used to point a sneer, I will say—using the word in the true and honourable sense—that they were conceived in the finest spirit of rhetoric. Perhaps the first of his sermons which showed to what heights he could attain was that which he preached, after the death of Dr. Whewell, in Trinity College Chapel, in which he described so touchingly how, in the first flush of his utter grief and loneliness, after the death of his wife, the great Master of Trinity “appeared in the chapel to join his prayers with ours, not shrinking from us as from strangers, nor fearing to commit to our sympathies the saddest of all sad sights, an old man's bereavement and a strong man's tears.” I should be glad to quote passages from his admirable sermon on “The Father of Missionaries,” and from that on “The Vision of God,” preached at his enthronement; or from that on Ezekiel's vision, preached at the opening of the Croydon Church Congress. I have no space for such extracts, and, indeed, I never heard him preach a sermon which was not admirable and weighty. But I may refer to that fine picture of a self-dedicated life, which he sketched at the consecration of the Archbishop of Can-

* Hom. II. vi. 206.

† Hes. Op. 334.

terbury to the Bishopric of Truro*—the picture of one who “lays down at the footstool of God his successes and his failures, his hopes and his fears, his knowledge and his ignorance, his weakness and his strength, his misgivings and his confidences—all that he is, and all that he might be—content to take up thence just that which God shall give him.”

So, again, it was with his work as a Bishop. The old proverb, ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δεικνύσι was true in his case. All his ruling and administrative capacity at once came out. He has left his diocese one of the best organized and one of the most united in England. The secret of this success lies in his own words on the day of his enthronement:—“I have but one idea for the administration of the diocese, that we should all strive to work together; that, as we contemplate the awful amount of sin around us, we should one and all resolve to do our best, by God’s help, to lessen this gigantic mass of evil, and should be careful not to give or take unnecessary offence at what is done by those who are labouring earnestly and faithfully in the same cause.” Under his rule the diocese was divided; the diocesan work flourished; he preached in nearly every church in his diocese. Churches were built; home and foreign missions were promoted. Social efforts of all kinds were set on foot. The dense crowds of pitmen who watched in silence the funeral procession as it passed through Tudhoe and Spennymoor showed how deeply the heart of the people had been touched by the work of the shy scholar who had been transformed into their Prince-Bishop.

This is not the place to attempt any estimate or characterization of the great work which it has been given him to do, although, if it had been possible, I would gladly have touched on the subject. But I may mention one feature which shone conspicuously in every branch of labour which he undertook. It was the exemplary *thoroughness* which showed the ripest fruit of the best form of Cambridge training. Instances crowd upon the memory, but I will content myself with one or two. Fifteen years ago he was asked to read a paper on Missions at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Thousands of such papers have been written which have been forgotten a few weeks at the latest after they were read. But Dr. Lightfoot discharged the duty in such a way that his paper has a permanent value, and is a most

important contribution to the literature of missions. It finally swept aside the modern assertion that missions have lost all their ancient efficacy. It showed, with a masterly knowledge which few possess, and which fewer still would have had the patience to concentrate, that the progress of Christianity through the ages has been quite as rapid *in proportion* as it was in the first four centuries. It thus dissipated a sense of discouragement which weighed heavily on many minds, and it gave a fresh impulse to missionary zeal. Take, as another instance, his essays in the editions of St. Paul’s Epistles on the meaning of *prætorium*, or of *πλήρωμα*, or on *επιούσιος*, or the dissertations on the Christian ministry, on St. Paul and Seneca, and on the “Brethren of the Lord.” Those essays are absolutely exhaustive of the existing materials for forming a judgment. They are specimens of a research which refused to be wearied. Once again, take his edition of the “Epistles of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp.” Determined to get to the bottom of every question, and to examine the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles in every possible light, he added Armenian and Coptic to his already vast stores of erudition, with the sole object of examining what could be discovered about the epistles in those languages. Often in steamboat, or railroad carriage, he would be found with an Armenian or Coptic grammar in his hand. And yet, so absolutely unostentatious was this newly acquired learning that a reader might easily go through his book without so much as once noticing the fact. For it is as true of him as of any man that ever lived that he wore

“the weight
Of all that learning, lightly as a flower.”

He avoided controversy as much as possible, but when he was called upon to perform the functions of a critic, he discharged his duty with rare perfection. One of the first writings which brought him prominently into notice was his criticism in the *Journal of Philology*, of two works by men of genius—the edition of the Epistle to the Corinthians, by Dean Stanley, and of the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians, by the Master of Balliol. Exact scholarship was not of course the *forte* of the beloved and gifted Dean; and minute grammatical and critical precision was not the immediate object of Professor Jowett. Both works were composed from an exegetical standpoint different from that of Dr. Lightfoot, though he was the first to recognize the high and permanent importance of both. We know

* On St. Mark’s Day, 1887.

very well how the criticisms of such works would have been written by the shallow and pretentious cleverness of some small-minded anonymous critic in the ordinary religious, semi-religious, and pseudo-religious journals. Long experience has made us familiar with the tone of superiority which such writers always assume: with their studied depreciations, their unfairness, their determination to ignore every merit, to exaggerate every defect, and not to attempt to understand the real object of the writer whom it is their one aim to injure, to wound, and to write down. Dr. Lightfoot was endowed with a nature, and had attained to a goodness, which could not descend to those abysses of the ignoble. Very far different, and indeed a model of outspoken yet modest, manly, and respectful criticism, was his review. No author could be otherwise than grateful for such corrections. As a matter of fact, Dr. Lightfoot received the cordial thanks both of the Dean and the Professor, who, in later editions, gladly corrected the errors or oversights to which he had called attention. So, too, there was a controversy between Dr. Lightfoot and the present Bishop of Salisbury, on the subject of the famous views of the former upon the Christian ministry; but it was conducted by both bishops with mutual and loving courtesy, and not one word was said by either to pain the feelings, or even to ruffle the susceptibilities of the other. Some may say that in his other chief controversy—that with the author of “Supernatural Religion”—Dr. Lightfoot showed some acerbity. The impression is a mistaken one, as those who read the papers will see. The author of “Supernatural Religion,” in his recent reply, makes no such complaint. On the special points of controversy, with which Dr. Lightfoot alone wished to deal, the unknown author had laid himself open to many refutations, and as the issue of the contest was one supremely important in itself, and of consummate interest to the bishop, he did not hesitate to drive his lance home between the joints of his opponent’s harness. But if he extenuated nothing, he certainly set down naught in malice. Of insulting language, and of acrimonious personality there is none. There are no venomous sneers, no corroding epigrams, so that in this region again the bishop set a shining and greatly-needed example. *O si sic omnes!*

His attitude as an ecclesiastic is akin to his attitude as a critic. He was a man of large and tolerant mind, who apprehended too seriously the importance of the deeper and more vital questions on which the issues

of this age depend, to care much, if he cared at all, about petty squabbles. He had learnt from St. John that the real Anti-Christ is the spirit of faction. It was therefore impossible for him to take any share in the manoeuvres or intrigues of partisans. We cannot even conceive of him as condescending to whisper innuendoes against opponents or rivals; or as suffering himself to be actuated by prejudices which induce a colour blindness to all merits of those from whom we differ. Such things were utterly alien to his temperament, and belonged to a region immeasurably below his habitual aspirations. He left such methods to falser aims and meaner spirits.

“Through the heather an’ howe gaed the creepin’
thing,
But abune was the waft of an angel’s wing.”

When he became a Bishop, there were many who feared that the scholar would be sacrificed to the Church officer, or that episcopal duties would be overbalanced by theological pre-occupations. It was not so. His varied erudition had not been purchased at the cost of practical wisdom. By unswerving diligence, by early rising, by steady use of the fragments of time, he was still able to contribute to the higher branches of scholarly and historic research, while yet he was an active and most useful Prelate. His charity, his tolerance, his magnanimity, tending to the annihilation of all that is petty and Pharisaic, gave to his diocese a singular sense of brotherliness as well as an energy of devoted service. He found time to train gratuitously, in Auckland Castle, a succession of youths, who, having enjoyed the advantage of seeing the daily spectacle of his example, are now, to the number of seventy, working as clergymen in the Church of England. Into two great movements he flung himself with clear-sighted energy. He could not live in the midst of a district inhabited by multitudes of pitmen and miners without observing the ravages of those two great enemies of mankind—intemperance and impurity. He became by choice and conviction a total abstainer and a prominent advocate of temperance legislation. He spoke on this subject with perfect firmness, yet without bigotry, and he wisely said (as every sensible abstainer would say) that, if at any time he could be convinced that his health absolutely required the use of wine, he should then unhesitatingly resume its use, believing the preservation of health to be a primary duty when no superior duty demands its sacrifice. Of the White Cross Society he was the president, and, if I mis-

take not, the principal founder. When he spoke on the platform he showed the power of handling a difficult subject with absolute precision, yet with the most refined delicacy; and we cannot doubt that by his words and his example he has greatly contributed to establish among young men a holier and more chivalrous view of the relations which should prevail between the sexes in a Christian society. He was himself, by deliberate choice, a celibate; probably, among other reasons, because he felt with St. Paul that as matrimony is a most blessed aid in discharging many of life's highest duties, so there are particular vocations to which it may be a hindrance. He may have thought that it would be a hindrance to the vocation to which God had called him. But he did not fall into the anti-Christian and Manichaean heresy which treated marriage as a necessary evil, or regarded it as an obstacle to priesthood, or placed celibacy above it in intrinsic meritoriousness. On the contrary, more than thirty years ago, in the controversy which arose about the tenure of fellowships, he laid down the true principle that neither matrimony nor celibacy possesses any inherent superiority over the other condition, but that each is best as God indicates His will respecting it to individual men.*

It is impossible to consider the life of Bishop Lightfoot without observing its singular felicity in this respect—that he was one of the few who all his life long seems to have escaped from the stings of malice and detraction. Many public men of the present day, as in all ages, have lived for years amid incessant attacks of which they themselves are often unable to account for the bitterness. In not a few it happens, and has happened, to spend their lives in “the oppression of a perpetual hissing.” Take the case of four of the most prominent divines of latter days, Dr. Pusey, Canon Kingsley, Professor Maurice, and Dean Stanley. Their personal experience would have led them to ratify the verdict of the Laureate—

“Each man walks with his head in a cloud of poisonous flies.”

During many years Dr. Pusey passed through hurricanes of abuse. Canon Kingsley, as he tells us in one of his letters, was at more than one period of his career “cursed like a dog” in the public prints, and the chief re-

ligious newspaper of the day said of his strong and tender story, “Yeast,” that “he taught immorality and insinuated atheism.” For long years in succession an article abusing Maurice was the invariable *sauce piquante* which was required in the first number of every evangelical periodical, and reams of insult and slander against him lie rotting in old files of the *Record*. I have seen a paragraph in a High Church paper saying that if (as was probable) a statue was ever raised to the Devil, Dean Stanley would certainly be the fittest person to unveil it; and on his deathbed, as he lay dying, I saw the last number of a very superior Church review speaking with the bitterest contempt of his Christian Institutes—a review which, happily, he was too ill to read, so that he was uninjured by its virulence. Dr. Lightfoot entirely escaped all such literary and theological assaults. The only word of abuse I ever read against him was written opposite to his name in the visitor's-book at the top of Snowdon nearly forty years ago—written probably by some reckless Undergraduate whom he had tried to save from energetic attempts to throw himself away. “When a man's ways please the Lord,” says the Book of Proverbs, “he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.” But I do not think that Dr. Lightfoot ever had any enemies. To what was this due? Partly to the sense of his great learning, partly to his uncontroversial way of presenting even controversial truth. He certainly did not suppress his views. His conclusions about the origin and true functions of the ministry are not those which seem to be getting almost universally prevalent among the English clergy. Many of them would not be pleased with his distinct declaration that in the epistles of Ignatius there is to be found no tinge of sacerdotalism. His views on revision—in which his influence told with great power—ran counter to those of Dean Burgon and his numberless adherents. His comments on Col. ii. 20-23, which he explained in a sense directly opposed to the exaltation of asceticism, is only one of many comments in which his opinions were not those of the Ritualists. And yet he somehow escaped antagonism. It is a blessed lot for those by whom it is won legitimately and without compromise. But if any one be led by envy of such spontaneously granted happiness to win it by unhalloed means, by “steering between the Scylla and Charybdis of yes and no,” or acquiring a reputation for safety and moderation by “never stating a proposition without

* His words are as follows (on “The Celibacy Question,” Oct. 25, 1857):—“When God has not only permitted but sanctioned both states of life alike, is it not unreasonable to hold that all the advantages are on the side of the one to the exclusion of the other?”

carefully protecting himself from seeming to exclude the contradiction," he is not following the great Bishop's example. And whatever be the rare exceptions, Christ's rule holds all but universally true: "Blessed are ye when all men shall hate you, and persecute you, and speak all manner of evil against you falsely for My name's sake;" and, "woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you." The rule is normal; but every now and then the Master makes blessed exceptions for those whom He loves.

I have tried, then, to say what little, at the moment, seemed worth saying about the great career, about the noble character, about some of the manifold labours and achievements of a man in whom posterity will probably recognize by far the greatest ecclesiastic of the present day. But his chief eminence and his highest claim upon our gratitude lies in this—that he left us all a stainless example. He sought no honours; though, when they came to him unsought, he accepted them with humility and thankfulness. He was wealthy without ostentation and without avarice. He was a presbyter who rose superior to the temptations of worldliness and ambition. In no man whom I have ever known was there less of egotism or self-seeking, and in this too he resembled the great contemporary poet over whom the grave has so recently closed. Called upon to face death at an age comparatively premature, when years of fruitful work might have lain before him, and when it seemed open to him to win a secure and lasting memorial in the minds of all men, by completing his editions of St. Paul's Epistles, and gratifying his longing to write a history of the fourth century, he rose at the call of God, and left his unfinished work and his accumulated materials, not only without a murmur, but without so much as a sigh of regret or a single backward glance. How can I end more fitly than in his own noble words?—

"While I was suffering from overwork, and before I understood the true nature of my complaint, it was the strain, both in London and at home, in connection with the Pan-Anglican gatherings, that broke me down hopelessly. I did not regret it then, and I do not regret it now. I should not have wished to recall the past even if my illness had been fatal. For what, after all, is the individual life in the history of the Church? Men may come and men may go; individual lives float down like straws on the surface of the waters till they are lost in the ocean of eternity. But the broad, mighty, rolling stream of the Church itself—the cleansing, purifying, fertilizing tide of the river of God—flows on for ever and ever."

DR. VON DÖLLINGER.

From *The Guardian* (London), January 22, 1890.

It is to be hoped that the great man who was taken from us on January 10th may eventually find a worthy biographer in some one of the distinguished Germans who enjoyed his intimacy, such as Professor Reusch, or in our own brilliant countryman Lord Acton. But he has had many friends of a less conspicuous order, even in England; and some of these may be encouraged to place their recollections of him upon record by remembering that every such contribution, however fragmentary, does something to promote that full appreciation of what he was which all must desire who have had the happiness of knowing him.

The present writer first made his acquaintance rather more than thirty years ago, and has constantly visited him since; indeed, with three exceptions, once in every year since 1870. Nor is his experience in this matter peculiar; it would be easy to name others who, like himself, have looked upon the almost yearly journey to Munich as combining the mental advantages of attendance at a lecture, or rather a series of lectures, of the highest value, with the moral advantages of a pilgrimage. It may, perhaps, be allowable to name the late Rev. H. N. Oxenham, for whom Dr. Döllinger had a great personal affection, and who fully enjoyed his confidence, and the Rev. Dr. Plummer, the accomplished Master of University College, Durham, to whom, with Mr. Oxenham, English readers are indebted for admirable translations of several of Dr. Döllinger's works, and who knew him well enough to know that the tenderness and strength of his character were not less interesting than the acuteness of his intellect and the astonishing wealth of his learning.

Such pilgrims, if they may so be described, would go to Munich, or to Tegernsee, for no other purpose than to enjoy the privilege of conversation with Döllinger. Munich, as all the world knows, since King Ludwig I., has been famous for its public collections and for its churches; and Tegernsee is sufficiently close to the foot of the Bavarian Alps to be surrounded by very pretty scenery. But neither the collections nor the scenery were the attractions that drew these pilgrims. It was prudent to write a note beforehand, and propose a visit, so that the coast might be kept clear; and then one took a room at the Bavarian Hotel or in some lodging nearer to the Von der Taun

Strasse, or, if he was staying for his summer holiday in Lord Acton's Villa d'Arco at Tegernsee, at the village "Post." Then, day after day, he insisted on his friend coming to his one o'clock dinner, and this was followed by a walk generally in the English garden at Munich, or at Tegernsee on the hill which rises above the lake, and which he climbed up, even in his ninetieth year, with surprising nimbleness, or round the southern extremity of the lake, or down the road to Gmund. Such walks would last for two or three hours, or sometimes longer, and when they were over he would invite his companion to come in and look at books which had been discussed, or take notes, or continue unfinished conversations until nine or ten o'clock at night. Considering the vast extent of his correspondence and the great literary tasks in which he was incessantly engaged, nothing could be more generous than such a devotion of time and thoughts to strangers, who, in one case at any rate, had little or nothing to give in return, and who never left his rooms without a quickened sense of the vastness of human knowledge, of the value of truth, and of the dignity of all work which is inspired by a high moral purpose.

1. The subjects discussed in these conversations with Dr. Döllinger were of the most various description. Sometimes he would revert to his own early days, and his boyish recollection of his father and the first Napoleon. His strong feelings about the French dated from those years of sorrow and humiliation for Germany. Not that these feelings ever prevented him from doing justice to great Frenchmen, whom he knew well in middle life, such as Montalembert and Lacordaire. At other times he would discuss Möhler, with whom he had been on terms of close intimacy during their association with each other as brother professors at Munich, and whose essays he had himself edited after Möhler's death. "Möhler's greatest work was, of course, his *Symbolik*; but it scarcely made more sensation in Germany than had been before made by his *Einheit in d. Kirche*." Möhler's Church History, Dr. Döllinger thought, ought never to have been published; it was an injury to his reputation. It was, in fact, published some years after Möhler's death by a Benedictine Father in Munich, who had attended Möhler's lectures and taken copious notes, but who produced a book which is very imperfect, and in places inaccurate. In the same way Reithmayr had published Möhler's notes on the *Epistle to the Romans*; but they were too fragmentary for publication,

so Reithmayr had added a great deal of his own. It was impossible now to say what was Möhler's and what was Reithmayr's. Dr. Döllinger thought it a mistake to say, as was often said in England, that Cardinal Newman had derived his theory of development from Möhler. Möhler, he held, did not say much more on this subject than had been said by earlier theologians; Newman had gone much further.

Another German with whom Döllinger had been intimate was the distinguished Orientalist Windischmann. English readers of German theology probably know Windischmann best by his brief commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians; but at one time he was the best Zend scholar in Germany. His father was a professor at Bonn; but he had passed his life at Munich, and had begun as a pupil of Döllinger's. "He was the only person," said Dr. Döllinger, "whom I ever knew who combined the highest qualities of a critical scholar with Ultramontane opinions." He was "an Ultramontane by nature, with a native capacity for organizing and ruling." He was secretary to the first Archbishop of Munich, who was a moderate man, but who suddenly in his old age developed curiously extreme opinions. The fact was, he was in the hands of Windischmann. Then came Cardinal Reisach—an Ultramontane by training. He and Windischmann got on well together; but Windischmann managed the diocese. When Reisach's successor was appointed, the King made it a condition that Windischmann should not be Vicar-General; but the new Archbishop was persuaded to let him have the direction of ecclesiastical studies in the seminary at Freising. "Ah," said Dr. Döllinger, laughing, "Windischmann once told me that he had satisfied himself that the Bollandist editors of the *Lives of the Saints* had been too critical in rejecting a great many legends! And yet when the *Philosophumena* of St. Hippolytus was discovered, Windischmann, who did not like the book, caught eagerly at a current story that it had been forged by Simonides, although it carried in itself the traces of its genuineness."

The matter of these conversations was often and naturally determined by Dr. Döllinger's literary occupations at the moment; and not unfrequently an entire walk would be devoted to a single subject. On one occasion, when preparing a book that has since been published, he discussed the question "why Cardinal Bellarmine had not been canonized." The Jesuits were anxious for it, and at one time the "process" had gone

a great way. There were two difficulties which Döllinger thought proved fatal. One was the strength of Bellarmine's language about the dispensing power of the Pope; Bellarmine had largely devoted his later life to maintaining generally the political ascendancy of the Pope in Christendom. His canonization would have involved the Church's approval of this position, and it was impossible to brave all the Governments of Europe. The other difficulty was Bellarmine's egotism, of which there was abundant evidence in his autobiography. This subject led on in another walk to his discussing the theological supremacy of the Spaniards in the Roman Church of the sixteenth century. The Italians were really their pupils. There was no comparison between Bellarmine and Suarez. This theological supremacy of Spain was not unconnected with her remarkable predominance in the councils of the Vatican until a new policy was inaugurated by Urban VIII. In another walk, not two years before his death, he talked about Harnack and other modern Germans. His companion had been recently studying Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, and was anxious for his judgment on some of its more startling positions. "To tell you the truth," he said, "I began to read it because I had heard that a great deal was thought of it in the Protestant Universities of Germany. But when I had read about eighty or ninety pages I found that I had encountered so many assumptions which required careful proof that I could get no further. So I put it down, and have not since looked at it."

More than once he discussed at length the origin of German Rationalism. He thought that undue stress was often laid, as by Hagenbach, on the influence of the English Deists. Reaction from the unspiritual Lutheran "orthodoxy" and the influence of such writers as Gottfried Arnold had had something to do with it, and Pietism had acted as a solvent upon the old Protestant "orthodoxy." But the first real pioneer of German Rationalism was Töllner's book *Die thätige Gehorsam Christi* (1768). This showed that the extension by the Lutheran divines of their peculiar theory of an imputed righteousness from the passive to the active obedience of Christ had, when translated into the popular rendering—"Everything has been done for me; and for me to do anything is superfluous or worse"—challenged a moral opposition which became in the event doctrinal. The subject is too vast to be pursued; but the suggestion is particularly instructive.

In these conversations Döllinger's intense German feeling was often more conspicuous than the literary reserve of his books would permit. This appeared especially in his feeling about Luther. For Luther's "imputation doctrine," as he called it, he had, as already implied, no sympathy; it often led to lax morality, and it misrepresented St. Paul. He would contrast Luther on the Galatians with Bishop Bull in the *Harmonia Apostolica*, not to the advantage of the former. "After all," he said, "good Lutherans are always better than their theory; none of them would say that a man who has no love of God in his heart will live with Him forever only because he believes on Him." He was under no temptation to apologize for Luther when describing an Apostolic Epistle which condemned his own theory as "an Epistle of straw," or allowing a religious partisan to have two wives at once, or throwing to the winds the Episcopate which he had at one time no difficulty whatever in retaining. But, especially in his later life, Döllinger felt deeply the immense evils of which Tetzels was an embodiment, and the enormous courage of Luther's early resistance to them. He was proud of Luther as a very brave man, if not as a theologian. This German feeling extended into all departments of national life. He was passionately German in his appreciation of the events of 1870-71. Yet he was not thereby rendered incapable of justice. In a conversation on the prospects of religion in Europe he suddenly asked the question, "Which do you suppose to be the most ungodly city in Europe?" His companion answered, "Paris," supposing the answer to be true and withal agreeable to the feelings of his questioner. "No," he said after a pause, "it is not Paris." "Which then?" "Well, since you press me—I am *Germanissimus Germanorum*, but—I am sorry to say I believe it to be Berlin; in no other capital is God so forgotten by so large a proportion of the population." Then he proceeded at some length to give the statistics on which this opinion was based, and he accounted for the fact as a natural result of the long prevalence of Rationalism.

The academical temper, which Döllinger possessed in a high degree, would often appear to discourage or even regard with a sort of contempt any pastoral or devotional interests; and this is not always confined to cases where it may be explained as a result of unbelief. Nothing could be less true of Dr. Döllinger. He would discuss a devotional manual, or a sermon, or a missionary

or philanthropic enterprise as sympathetically as the newest effort of critical scholarship; and he was keenly alive to everything that bore upon the moral, as distinct from the intellectual, well-being of the people. As an example, he deplored the modern passion for Wagner's music; parts of it, he thought, were productive of distinctly immoral results. When his companion expressed wonder that any music could have results of this kind, "Ah," he said, "I see you do not understand me; we Germans take music in earnest."

2. It was inevitable that Döllinger should feel keen interest in the Oxford movement. He had read Pusey's *Theology in Germany* with great interest at the time of its appearance, but that work gave no promise of the direction which its author's mind would take, although it afforded evidence of qualities which would make any career remarkable. But the *Tracts for the Times* had not long been published before attention was drawn to them in the Protestant press of Germany, and, as time went on, with less and less sympathy. It could not of course be otherwise; in spite of Pusey's hopes of what might be achieved by Tholuck and other believing and learned Protestants, the general drift of German Protestantism was steadily tending toward advanced unbelief; and as a matter of course, the Tractarian assertions of the authoritative claims of Christian antiquity, of the necessity of the Episcopate to the organization of the Church of God, and of the awful doctrines of grace whether in the operation of our Lord through Sacraments, or in the soul, could not be welcome to it. It was from the Protestant press of Germany that Döllinger, still devoted to the Roman Church, learnt to appreciate within certain limits the Oxford movement. In 1842, Pusey had written to him about the collation of some patristic MSS., and in his reply Döllinger observed:

"In Germany, all eyes, of Protestants as well as of Roman Catholics, are turned in fear and hope towards Oxford; it becomes more and more probable that your great and memorable movement will have serious influence on the course of religious development in Germany."

Then he proceeds:

"I have read almost all your works, most particularly also your letter to the Bishop of Oxford and what you have written about Tract XC.; and though some passages were painful to me or seemed to me erroneous, there is far more in them with which I can entirely agree, nay, much which seemed to me to have been written out of my own soul. With the greatest interest I read—I even devour—the numbers of the *British Critic* as soon as they arrive here, also the works of Newman and

the excellent book by Faber, *Sights and Thoughts*, etc. From all these writings I retain such an impression that I feel almost inclined to call out, *Tales cum sitis, iam nostri estis*, or, if you like it better thus, *Tales cum sitis, iam vestri sumus!* Everything with us in Germany also points more and more distinctly towards a great religious consummation, towards a drawing together of kindred elements, and of those which belong to each other, and of a separation [of elements unnaturally joined] which will proceed in the same ratio. Once more, and now probably for the last time, the attempt is being made in Germany to assert again the old Protestantism of the Symbolical Books; but the union established by Prussia has dealt it a deep wound, and on the other side the corrosive poison of Hegel's Pantheism, in union with the destructive criticism of the Bible, is spreading incessantly. Even the Protestant theological faculty at Tübingen, formerly the chief support of the still positive-Christian theology in Protestant Germany, is now almost completely in the hands of Hegel's party."

In a later part of the same letter Dr. Döllinger adds:

"May I now ask you to express to Mr. Newman in my name the especial respect which his writings have led me to entertain for him?"

The secession of Mr. Newman to the Church of Rome in October, 1845, was not the issue for the movement which Döllinger had anticipated, although at the time, as a good Roman Catholic, he could not but rejoice at it. He does not appear to have communicated much with Pusey again until 1866, when the Rev. H. N. Oxenham, who had also become a Roman Catholic, but had not repudiated his old affection for and intercourse with Pusey, was largely the means of renewing it. Döllinger was delighted with Pusey's *Eirenicon*. "I am convinced," he wrote in May, 1866, "by reading your *Eirenicon* that we are united inwardly in our religious convictions, although externally we belong to two separated Churches." He furnished Pusey with details about the opinions and dispositions of the prelates who then occupied several German sees, as Pusey contemplated a visit to Germany, such as he actually made to France, in order to bring the question of the reunion of the separated branches of the Church under the notice of the Continental Episcopate.

After the Vatican Council Döllinger looked upon the English secessions to Rome of 1845 and 1851 as errors, many of which would not have been committed if the Decree of Infallibility could have been foreseen. He also thought that it was a misfortune of the Oxford movement that the patristic period of Church history had been studied to the neglect of the mediæval:

"No one probably," he once said, "now living knows so much of the fourth century as does Car-

dinal Newman. I wish he had known as much of the tenth or the fourteenth. No one," he continued, "can study the documents which describe the manner of the suppression of the Templars and continue to think of the mediæval Papacy as a throne of justice in the midst of Christendom—the friend of righteous weakness, the foe of unjust tyranny. Clement V. was the tool—too probably the conscious tool—of the French king, in a transaction as dark as you can find, in the annals of the Church of Christ."

With Pusey Döllinger maintained warm friendship to the day of Pusey's death. Each sent the other his books; and communications were as frequent between them as was possible for two such busy people. They did not always agree. Döllinger thought some of Pusey's positions in his Lectures on Daniel difficult to maintain; and he did not hesitate to express his disappointment at portions of Pusey's Letter on the Double Procession. But they had too much in common to regard each other with other feelings than those of deep affection and respect; and no man could have mourned Pusey's death in 1882 more sincerely than Döllinger.

3. Döllinger had become more or less dissatisfied with the course which things were taking in the Roman Catholic Church some years before the Vatican Council. His dislike of the Encyclical was well known; and he expressed opinions unfavorable to the maintenance of the Temporal Power. Again, he felt strongly that "the Church was disgraced" when Peter d'Arbues was canonized in 1868; regarding it as "a canonization of the Spanish Inquisition." He wrote some articles against it in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and he believed that the authorship was guessed at the time. The affair caused much strong feeling in Germany; no attention was paid to it in England. He thought it possible that "a well-written article in the *Times* might have commanded sufficient attention to stop the 'process.'

could not but be aware. He knew too well how many and how formidable are the forces which are ranged in our day against the Christian Revelation to be willing to add, with a light heart, by an act of his own, to the existing divisions of Christendom. He was far removed from the boisterous assertion of self which is observable in Luther. He "could not assent to what he knew to be false;" but his attitude was passive, not active. Rome forced him to dissent from her by bidding him accept a novel doctrine as a term of communion; but he did not add to the refusal of submission the proclamation of a fierce anti-Roman crusade. The Old Catholic organization sprang from the necessity of providing means of grace for those who were excluded by the new dogma from the Roman fold; but Döllinger hoped, at any rate at first, that his action and that of others might lead the authorities of the Church of Rome to reconsider and, so far as they could, to retrace a false step. This hope of his has not yet seemed likely to be realized, and the Old Catholics have, from the necessity of the case, gone forward in the work of providing themselves with a duly consecrated Episcopate, and other conditions of an assured communion with our Lord.

The strength of Döllinger's attitude at the time and since is, in the good sense of that much-abused word, its moderation. In this he offers a contrast not only to some names on this side of the Channel which will occur to readers of the *Guardian*, but especially to the great and brilliant but paradoxical thinker who wrote the *Paroles d'un Croyant*. Because Döllinger could not accept the infallibility of all the Popes, and was led to see that the authority which could propose it was not what he had hitherto believed it to be, he did not proceed to break with all authority. For him unbelief—not Rome—was still the great opponent; and his principal reason for deploring the Vatican Decree of Papal infallibility was the impetus which it gave to unbelief in educated Germany. Persons representing various phases of negative thought took it for granted that they would find sympathy in the most powerful mind with which Rome had quarrelled in the present century. They were some of them even rudely disappointed. They could not understand Döllinger. Either "he ought not to have revolted at all, or he ought to have carried his revolt to its logical conclusions"—conclusions which, it is needless to add, differed very widely according to the standpoint of his various critics. He was perfectly court-

eous to everybody, but he kept his theological and historical conscience intact. It is little to say that he paid no compliments to the purely destructive criticism which is the child of German Protestantism. He insisted upon the necessity of the Episcopate to the organization of the Church of Christ. This, of course, limited, if it did not altogether forfeit, the sympathies of all non-episcopal Christian communities. But he was equally honest with those who more nearly shared his own convictions. He could not allow members of the Church of England who were admitted to his intimacy to think that she was, even in theory, an exact reproduction of the primitive Church. And when the Old Catholics permitted their clergy to marry, he made no secret of his disapproval. There were many examples in the primitive Church of married men who had been ordained and had retained their wives, although he did not know of any instance of the marriage of an ordained man. But his deepest objection was of a practical character. A body like the Old Catholic clergy could only hope to succeed if the world believed in their disinterestedness; and to this belief such an eagerness to throw off restraints on natural inclination would, he thought, be well-nigh fatal. He mentioned cases in which the measure had already led to a return to the Roman Church.

An able writer in the *Spectator* observes that :

"His habit of deference to the Church's authority in concrete detail was more deeply rooted than his habit of deference to the Church's larger and vaguer authority when asking submission to her definitive decrees. When she said to him, 'Don't celebrate mass any more,' he seems to have regarded himself more bound to obey her than when she said to him, 'Believe what I tell you'" (*Spectator*, Jan. 18, 1890).

Waiving the question of fact as to saying mass, this is, taken generally, a fair account of Döllinger's attitude. But surely it is sufficiently intelligible by reference to his sense of truth. His moral nature was not challenged when authority desired him to desist from particular clerical duties, but it was challenged when he was desired to profess public assent to a doctrine which he knew to be irreconcilable with facts. If no Popes had lived, it might have been more possible to define by anticipation that all Popes would be infallible. But the Papacy had given many pledges to history, and no authority could make a long series of Popes to be simultaneously infallible when it was notorious that some of them had contradicted others. Döllinger would have said : "I am sorry that you desire me not to say

the Church service; yet I have no moral difficulty in obeying you. But I cannot obey you if you tell me to profess before the world that two and two make five; and the doctrine of Papal infallibility appears to me to involve an assertion of this order."

Döllinger's anxiety to strengthen the cause of faith in positive truth had more than any other motive to do with his promotion of the movement which issued in the two conferences at Bonn in 1874 and 1875. It is unnecessary to describe proceedings which have long since been public property; but none of those who were present can forget the scene in which Döllinger's intellectual and moral superiority was so strikingly exhibited. Surrounded as he was by Eastern and English Bishops, and by more or less learned men from various parts of Europe, his judgment on a variety of questions was scarcely challenged, even in committees which were appointed for the purpose of free discussion. Perhaps the mind which in learning and acuteness most nearly approached his own was that of Professor Ossinin, of St. Petersburg. Looking back in 1884 on these efforts, he said that he "did not himself expect to see any visible results of them. Nothing could be done in the way of reunion with Rome while her system was unchanged. The best prospects for a reunited Christendom now lay in the direction of the East." After the conferences he had written to Professor Ossinin begging him to ascertain whether the Eastern Bishops would accept the proposals of 1875 as a basis of negotiation. He supposed that the Eastern Bishops were still corresponding with each other; but no formal reply had been given. The question of the Seventh Council and the icons would be a difficulty, as the Easterns held the use of icons to be a matter not of discipline, but of dogma. Nothing solid could be done until the Easterns, after more intimate religious contact with the West, would consent to regard that question as one of discipline respecting which Churches might lawfully differ from each other. But that reunion would come in time, he had no doubt; it would be forced on Christians by the foes of Christianity. "At the age of eighty-five," he said, "I cannot hope to see it; you may possibly do so."

Not the least beautiful feature of Dr. Döllinger's character was the entire absence of bitter or selfish feelings. The Bavarian sees were at one time almost all filled by his pupils; and of these some even joined in condemning him. "They probably could not help it," he said; "they were in a very

difficult position." Perhaps he felt the submission of Bishop Hefe, of Rottenburg, to the Vatican decrees more than that of any one else. "Hefe's learning," he said, "might have kept him straight, but his position was, we must recollect, particularly embarrassing." Somebody mentioned Hergenröther's answer to Janus. "He is a learned man," said Döllinger, "and I am glad to think" (here he smiled archly) "that I have been the means, however indirectly, of making him a Cardinal." That he himself had not been promoted before 1870 would not have occurred to him; one cannot imagine his referring to anything of the kind complainingly. On two occasions when walking with him in the English Garden, the present writer witnessed his meeting with two successive Archbishops of Munich. In either case almost exactly the same scene took place. "Here comes the Archbishop," said Dr. Döllinger, interrupting a conversation. The Archbishop was accompanied by two chaplains, who fell back as Dr. Döllinger approached, while Dr. Döllinger's companion also retreated in an opposite direction. On both occasions the meeting seemed to be marked by every expression of cordiality. On rejoining Dr. Döllinger, it was impossible to avoid observing to him that, for an excommunicated person, he had been received very honourably. "They are very kind to me," he said; "I wish that truth left me at liberty to respond to their advances as they desire." Indeed, the clergy of Munich generally appeared to share the same feeling as the Archbishops; and when Döllinger walked through the streets of Munich every priest and seminarist whom he met hastened to raise his hat, while the poor children, with whom he had an especial reputation for kindness, rushed forward to kiss his hand and receive his blessing. While listening to his conversation and witnessing these scenes it was perhaps allowable for a looker-on to ask himself what kind of character would have enriched human experience, if the Apostle of inspired dialectics had for a while blended in a single personality with the Apostle of Divine love. H. P. L.

GUTHRIE'S POWER IN PREACHING.

A REMINISCENCE.

BY REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.

From *The New York Observer*, (Presbyterian), Jan. 25, 1890.

TO-DAY we heard Dr. Guthrie on Eli's submission to God's will. "It is the Lord ;

let him do what seemeth him good." One of Dr. Guthrie's peculiarities of originality and power is the depth of feeling and faith with which he carries the gospel into the Old Testament narratives and laws, and sees the path of experience that has been passed over by the Hebrews for our instruction, in the "stern lights" flung back by Christ and his apostles. It was a most graphic and striking sermon, in which sweet and instructive spiritual truths were illustrated by very graphic imagery, and dramatic power of description. He might have taken his text from Job's heart-searching and appealing question, "What? Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil? The Lord gave; the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!"

But Eli's faults and failures of character were behind the text. And the preacher finely described the native desert of evil, and the effect of its consciousness, in the humbled and penitent soul; the patience and forbearance of God with our accumulated guilt and sin; his goodness and mercy in treating us with such kindness, and granting us such a reprieve from everlasting woe. And then in contrast he showed the wickedness of a repining disposition, especially considering the nature of the new law, under which the Christian, since his great respite, is living; of God's gracious discipline for his eternal good. "As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten. Be zealous therefore and repent. Behold I stand at the door and knock." God in Christ stands at the door, even of unfaithful ungrateful ones, and of those who have left their first love, and become lukewarm, and yet imagine themselves rich, and do not know that they are wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked.

And if any such man (says the Lord Jesus) hear my voice, and open the door, even after so long a time, and so wide a course of departure from me, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me. So did God with Eli, so did God with David, so with Peter, so with us all. And all this compassion and mercy and pardoning love, so exhaustless, through the new covenant in Christ's blood, all the purchase of Christ's atoning propitiatory sacrifice! For he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world. Who can rightly measure or describe the greatness of such mercy? Who this side the realization of that eternal death, which is the consequence of sin unrepented of, unforgiven? "Hast thou en-

tered into the springs of that sea? or hast thou walked in the search of those depths? Have the gates of death been opened unto thee, or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death?"

He described a criminal sentenced to be hanged, but pardoned for the sake of some one high in rank and power, who had chosen and consented to suffer in his stead, taking the penalty upon himself, that the criminal might be spared. He supposed the case of the reprieve granted, with the condition of the criminal being remanded to his prison and kept there for a few weeks under tuition, in preparation for a very high station of honor, usefulness and power, for which it was necessary to prepare him. "Now, suppose," said he, "the criminal is on the scaffold, the cap is drawn over his head, he stands on the trap-door over the gulf, the hangman's hand is on the bolt to strike it out and let the wretched victim drop into eternity, only awaiting the signal of the waving of the handkerchief, when, suddenly, a horseman is seen and heard shouting in the distance; the lane is formed, he gallops forward, bloody with spurring, fiery red with haste, and in the moment of despair, reads the king's offer of mercy!"

Ah, what shall the life be, thenceforward, so saved? "Into thy hands I commit my spirit! Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. For great is thy mercy toward me, and thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell. Thou hast delivered my soul from death; and now I will walk before the Lord, in the land of the living. I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord, now, in the presence of all the people. My mouth shall show forth thy righteousness and thy salvation, all the day."

What less can the sinner, so redeemed, do for his Saviour? What, when endless life is given to him, and a place of blessedness and glory in the likeness of his Redeemer, instead of the endurance of the penalty of all his transgressions in that eternal death which he was about to suffer.

I have said that Eli's sins were behind the text. And so is the reality of a never-ending wrath to come, and a belief in it from conviction of the conscience and the heart, at God's Word, behind every invitation and assurance of divine mercy; behind the cross and the sufferings of Christ, which would be inexplicable, but for the eternal reason for them, and unnecessary were there no such thing under the government of God as an eternal retribution. The power of Dr. Guthrie's preaching of Christ's redeeming

love is grounded in the truth of an eternal destiny of misery in the sinner's own character, unrepented, unbelieving, unforgiven! "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men."

How are we all, if we have not fled for refuge to the hope set before us in Christ, and offered by his dying love, hanging on the verge of trembling hope between that region of despair and this of the persuasive urgency of mercy!

"A point of time, a moment's space,
Removes us to that heavenly place
Or shuts us up in hell."

Yet how insensible! With what careless indifference are these gospel tidings of mercy and warnings of compassion heard every Sabbath day by thousands, who return through all the week to their lives of vanity, ingratitude and sin, just as heedless as though not so much were depending as even the results of an April shower. But when the light of life is waning, and God comes down in the cool of the day, and makes the soul tremble at the voice of the Judge, then we pray for a little longer respite, and if the respite comes, will you use it, oh immortal spirit, travelling to eternity for the gaining of your peace in Christ with God?

Dr. Guthrie, with great power and tenderness, set forth the nature of our reprieve for Jesus' sake, and the infinite obligation of gratitude and love we are under to him.

This was the truth of God, not weakened or darkened, or its force at all abated by any hypodermic injection of eternal hope beyond the grave, when the gospel of Christ plainly informs us there can be no more sacrifice for sin, no new offer of salvation. Which was the kindest and most faithful preaching? Dr. Guthrie's earnestness and plainness, or Canon Farrar's delusion of eternal hope? Which the most likely to save the soul?

Christ's own warning is the best, the surest, the most merciful. "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

REFORMS IN FUNERALS.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE ON CONDUCTING THE SERVICES.

From *The Central Presbyterian* (Richmond, Va.), Jan. 29, 1890.

At the late meeting of the Richmond branch of the Evangelical Alliance, com-

posed of ministers, officers and members of the Protestant churches of the city, held in the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, the subject of reforms in funerals was discussed. A committee was appointed to draft a paper relating to some changes proposed in the mode of conducting funerals. The committee consists of Rev. Drs. Newton, Moser, Hatcher and Cutler, with Rev. Dr. Hoge as the chairman, and the report adopted is as follows :

1. As to the Proper Time for Holding Funeral Services.—No fixed rule can determine the proper day of the week for such solemnities. This must be regulated by circumstances over which those most interested often have no control. But whenever practicable it is desirable that they should be held on some other day than the Sabbath, for reasons so obvious that they need not be specified.

2. Funeral Sermons and Addresses.—Here, again, no peremptory rule can be adopted. Different churches have their own traditions, sentiments and customs in this respect. There are occasions when the emotion of sorrow is so profound and universal in the community as to demand the relief which comes from some expression of it, as when a distinguished Christian soldier, statesman or philanthropist is taken away, and when the great lessons of the life of the departed, by common consent, may be enforced in the pulpit. But it is safe to say that the cultivated moral sense of the community is less and less in sympathy with funeral discourses.

The Psalms and portions of Scripture which are ordinarily read or sung on such occasions, expressive of the shortness and uncertainty of life, cannot be made more impressive by any words of man, and the sublime lessons in the 15th chapter of First Corinthians on the resurrection and the life immortal need not be supplemented by any human presentations of the theme.

3. The Expensiveness of Funerals.—Here all will probably agree that reforms are possible, practicable and desirable. We live at a time when the difficulty of obtaining employment is increasing, with the increase of population and of monopolies, which make the rich richer and the poor poorer. A large proportion of the people are in straitened circumstances. A man may ordinarily regulate his household expenses according to his means of living, but he finds his privilege taken away when a death occurs in the family, because of the prevailing custom, which demands such costly preparations for the funeral. Many a family is straitened for months after the funeral for the means

of supporting the living, because of the amount expended in burying the dead.

This could be best corrected if the rich would set the example of as much economy in funeral expenses as is consistent with the respect and love they cherish for the departed, and it is not beyond the province of the pulpit to urge a diminution of extravagant display at a time which speaks so impressively of the emptiness and vanity of all that is seen and temporal.

4. Covering the Face of the Dead.—The coffin which encloses the remains of the deceased should be closed before the assembling of the company which gathers at the funeral service. The last look and the leave-taking should be in private, and the friends in attendance should not be subjected to the pain of witnessing the scenes which so often occur at these sad farewells.

Natural sensitiveness on the part of the bereaved and proper regard for the feelings of spectators would seem to suggest the propriety of veiling from public observation all that passes at a moment so delicately personal and sacred.

5. Exposure at the Grave.—Since funerals must occur at all seasons of the year, and often when the weather is most inclement, the question arises, how can dangerous exposure be best avoided.

To stand with uncovered head for a quarter or half an hour on the wet ground, possibly amid rain and sleet and bitter wind, subjects the officiating clergyman and friends of the deceased to unnecessary discomfort and danger.

Some are now sleeping in our cemeteries who would, in all probability, still be among the living but for such disregard of the natural laws of life. It may be suggested, therefore, that after the religious services are concluded, when the weather is inclement, the company may retire, only those remaining whose duty and desire it is to see the interment properly conducted ; that the ladies remain in their carriages, and that none will be expected to stand with uncovered heads in wintry storms after the prayers are ended, nor even during the prayers if age or infirmity of any kind makes such exposure hazardous.

These are some of the suggestions which your committee make, with great respect and deference for the customs, preferences and opinions of others.

Your committee has no authority to commit the alliance to any of the changes proposed. The subject is a difficult and delicate one, and everything like dictation is inadmissible. Only by conference, by mutual agreement, by harmony of feeling and

action can reforms in funerals be accomplished.

MOSES D. HOGE,
Chairman.

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. GLADSTONE.

From *The New York Observer* (Presbyterian), Jan. 30, 1890.

DR. TALMAGE, of Brooklyn, on Friday, took luncheon and spent the afternoon with Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden Castle. Mr. Gladstone had telegraphed him on Thursday: "Pray come to Hawarden to-morrow." Dr. Talmage was received very cordially by the ex-Premier, and the two gentlemen had a long talk on religious and political questions. Mr. Gladstone said: "Talk about questions of the day; there is but one question, and that is the gospel. It can and will correct everything needing correction. All men at the head of great movements are Christian men. During the many years I was in the Cabinet, I was brought into association with sixty master minds, and all but five of them were Christians. My only hope for the world is in bringing the human mind into contact with divine revelation." Then, placing his hand on Dr. Talmage's shoulder, Mr. Gladstone warmly eulogized the doctor's Christian zeal, and expressed his great gratification at the marvellous publicity given to his sermons, which are now distributed in many lands and read in many languages. After luncheon the two men linked arms and took a walk over Mr. Gladstone's vast estate, its proprietor commenting lovingly on his wonderful trees, as though they were human beings. He then inquired eagerly if Americans paid proper attention to tree culture. Dr. Talmage asked Mr. Gladstone if the cause of Irish Home Rule would be victorious. Mr. Gladstone brightened up and responded emphatically: "Yes; when next election comes." He continued: "It seems to be a dispensation of God that I should be engaged in battle. At my time of life I should be resting. I never had any option in these matters. I dislike contest, but when Ireland, once the refuge of persecuted Englishmen, showed herself ready to adopt a righteous constitution and do her full duty, I hesitated not a moment to espouse her cause." Concerning America, he said: "No one outside of the United States is bound to love it more than I am." Pointing to numerous beautiful gifts from America, he went on to say: "Everywhere I have prac-

tical impression of the tender thoughtfulness and kindness of the American people." Toward evening, when bidding Dr. Talmage farewell, Mr. Gladstone pressed into his hands some books and pamphlets containing autographic inscriptions, and also a copy of his own Latin rendering of his favorite hymn, "Rock of Ages," and said: "Give my highest regards to President Harrison, and express to Mr. Blaine my deepest sympathy with him on account of the loss of his beloved son."

FINDING A FIELD.

From *The Presbyterian Journal* (Philadelphia), Jan. 30, 1890.

EVERY servant of God has somewhere his appointed field of labor. God has no servants who have no posts of service with their attendant duties. There is a personal sphere of service for every one who has a name and place in his spiritual household. This sphere is not the same for all, nor even for any two of his servants, in the infinite diversity of the functions of the divine economy. But every one is given his own field of certain assignable limits, which is his own province and not another's, and for which he is personally responsible and accountable to the Master.

There may be temporary perplexity in ascertaining the field to which Providence is calling one who seems to be holding a blank commission. But there cannot be long any real difficulty in determining clearly just what this way may be in given instances, for the sure way of ascertaining it is to begin at once with the service nearest at hand. Duty done is the door of opportunity for further and larger service. One finds his field and is guided to it by his going out into it. He discovers his calling to it by his actually entering it and endeavoring to compass its bounds. The successful worker who has all the work he can do and more is not he who idly waits for it but who goes forth to find it. So soon as the gate of opportunity is open only wide enough to admit him in any wise he enters in and does with his might what his hands find to do. In this way he is not long in ascertaining his proper and personal field of labor. His gifts, his culture, his experience, his aptitudes, the pressure of circumstances, the leadings of Providence guide him unerringly to his work.

This field of labor may not be indeed the one he chose for himself. It may be very unlike the one he would prefer if he might

choose. Perhaps in the vast majority of instances, the sovereign voice of the Master crosses the personal desires and aspirations of his servants. But every true follower of the Lord bows implicitly to the divine behests and learns by faithful labor to make the divine choice his own. He might desire a larger field or a smaller one, a more easy or a more difficult one, a more humble or a more conspicuous one; but every rising of desire is silenced and hushed in the remembrance that the Master determines it for him, and that therefore he is in the right place.

This is not to say, however, that the true servant of Christ is content to excuse himself with only the ordinary rounds of service. He adopts the Master's service as his own and is satisfied only as he sees it going forward. Whatever he can do and all he can do is his constant aim and endeavor. He is full of venture and enterprise in making proof of his calling, is ever ready to try untried means and to explore new fields for the Master, as well as new methods in old ones. He is positive, hopeful, aggressive, laborious, believing. Such is the spirit of the ideal servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Such a laborer can never fail of a great reward. It may not come at once, or even soon, but come it will and without fail in the final award of the Master. Years of faithful toil in obscure and unfruitful fields are often the indispensable discipline to higher and more influential stations. To all such as fit themselves for it by wise, faithful, laborious preparation, the Lord at last swings wide the portals of opportunity and bids them enter on their reward. For the true reward for service rendered is ampler privilege for farther service. Fitness and fidelity are the sure precursors of the plaudit of the Master: "Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

CHRISTIAN UNION.

From *The Western Recorder* (Baptist), Louisville, Ky., Feb. 6, 1890.

A good deal has been said about the union of all the denominations, and a good many plans have been suggested. We have never been of those who thought it well to have different denominations, although free variety is much better than enforced uniformity. There was but one denomination in the time of the Apostles, and will be but

one in the millennium. Usually, as in the case of Alexander Campbell, the man who seeks to unite all the denominations, succeeds only in making one more, and so complicating the problem.

Now that the question is up rather more formally than before, it were well to see what practical results can be reached. Taking the Bible as God's Word, we are bound to believe that the differences of belief among Christians are because some or all of them believe differently from what the Bible teaches. If all would conform their belief to Scripture all differences would vanish. It is obvious, therefore, that the way to get together is to study the Bible afresh to learn just what its teachings are on the disputed points. Just so far as this teaching can be received will Christians be brought together.

The compromise idea is vain. The Word of God will not shift as men give and take. One man must not be required to give up what is true, because somebody else has given up what is false. Union can never be reached by mutual concession so long as men retain faith in the Bible.

But since we all accept the Bible as God's Word, none can reasonably object to making its teaching the basis of union. Then let representative men and competent scholars of the different denominations be selected, who will meet and consider the differences of belief from the Bible standpoint. Let them see if they can agree as to what the Bible says on church polity, on the act and subjects of baptism, on the conditions of salvation, on the meaning and use of the ordinances, etc. These are questions that ought to be settled and might be settled if there were an honest effort to conform to Bible teaching.

Even though this proposed conference should not be able to agree on all points, it is morally certain they would agree in some things, and that the field would be cleared of much useless and cumbersome rubbish. Afterward subsequent conferences could be held, and finally union could be secured, a union on the Bible, which is the only union possible or worth having. In the dark ages there was practical union, the dissenters being few and obscure, but that union was not on the Bible. Rather it made bonfires of Bibles. That sort of union can never be repeated and the only possible one left must rest on Scripture.

If, now, the Episcopalian Convention and others who are urging Christian union are in earnest, let them go at it in the way suggested. The idea of uniting under "the historic episcopate" is grotesquely absurd.

That was the sort of union they had in the dark ages. Only the Bible episcopate, along with Bible other things can be received.

We should be heartily glad to see such a conference held. It could certainly do no harm, and if no visible result was reached, the way would be prepared for future effective work along the same line.

WHAT DO WE GO TO CHURCH FOR ?

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, Feb. 6, 1890.

WE hear a great deal nowadays about diminished attendance at church. As a matter of fact we suspect that there is in most communities as large a proportion of church-goers as in the more devout past times with which such damaging comparisons are often made. However that may be, one thing is true : we do find a tendency in this day to think of churches as a sort of Sunday lyceums. We are a good deal in the habit of going to church with the object of being entertained by the preacher.

The power of the pulpit is rightly held in high esteem among Protestants. Do we as fully recognize the element of worship in our church services ? The revised version has taught us that the "tabernacle of the congregation" was properly the "tent of meeting," *i.e.*, an appointed place for men to meet God. It is in that sense we should use the good old name "meeting-house." It is in that way we should use the place. Great as may be the profit and stimulus to be got from preaching, we do not get all, nor the best, that church services are designed to give, unless there is a real coming before God in thought, in song, in prayer. An assemblage of worshippers in a house of worship is a means for doing this with which few people can dispense. Of this worship preaching should be a true part, fitting into and filling out the rest. It is for this worship that we should go to church.

There is constant need of emphasizing this truth, especially in the non-liturgical churches. Indifference to it is what makes so many persons careless about punctuality at church. They don't mind missing what are often called, with unconscious irony, the "preliminary" services. We once knew a young man who made a point of not going to church until it was time for the sermon to begin. He was a busy student and wanted, as he said, to save time ! How often, too, we see people listless and distraught during the service of worship, and

only becoming alert when the preacher gives out his text. As a natural result, even the preaching does not accomplish what it ought. There are few sermons sincerely spoken in which a listener who has been reverently worshipping God cannot find profit. But one who listens as he would to a lecture or a play will often miss what is best in the best of sermons.

Perhaps the neglect of the worship idea may account, in part at least, for the difficulty of filling our Protestant churches. The Romanists gather great congregations at all hours and in all weather. It is not by offering pulpit attractions, but by pressing the obligation of worship. We may sneer at it as superstition. A slight infusion of the same sentiment would be wholesome for many Protestant Christians. Church vagrancy is a legitimate outcome of the Sunday lyceum view. Those who seek little beyond entertainment in going to church will go where they can get the most of it, and will always be drawn by a fresh attraction. A good deal of our modern church architecture is carefully adapted to foster this tendency. We have "auditoriums" nowadays, and congregations often appropriately figure as "audiences." We cannot too seriously remind ourselves that we ought to go to church, first, last, and always, to worship God, and that everything about the place and the service should help us to do that.

CURRENT FLINGS AT THE OLD TESTAMENT.

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, Jan. 16, 1890.

NOTHING is more common than remarks depreciatory of the Old Testament, and, being so common, they often find their way into print. Even religious newspapers do not escape the infection, and hardly a week passes that our eye does not fall upon utterances, by editor or contributor, sometimes mildly and indirectly depreciating the Old Testament by exalting the New, sometimes roundly asserting that the Old Testament is a worthless or even dangerous study for Christians. Thus one esteemed contemporary lately remarked : "Why send their children for their morals to Solomon, who was king of a harem, and who was not temperate in life—whose Proverbs can be cited to please the wine-drinker as well as the abstainer—and all this with the New Testament open before you ?"

It is greatly to be regretted that this wiser than Solomon was not consulted in the

making of the Book of Proverbs, so that we might have had something that he could conscientiously circulate as an orthodox total abstinence and prohibition tract. The conduct of our Lord doubtless fails to commend itself to this stern moralist, inasmuch as "the Son of Man came eating and drinking," thus giving his enemies the opportunity to slander him as "a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber." The self-sufficiency of such criticism reminds one of the Spanish philosopher who regretted his absence when the world was created, as he could undoubtedly have given the Almighty several valuable hints.

But seriously now, do not those who indulge in remarks of this nature perceive the assumption on which they are founded, namely, that the Holy Spirit made a sad mistake when he inspired the Hebrew writers to produce the Old Testament? The idea, stated so baldly, seems hardly separable from blasphemy. The remarkable thing, moreover, about the flings proceeding from this unconscious assumption is that the critics nearly all profess a belief in the Bible—the whole Bible—as given by inspiration of God, a revelation of the divine nature and purposes. We have charitably called this assumption an unconscious one, for it is not to be supposed that sincere Christians would deliberately charge a blunder upon God. One must suppose that they have been perplexed by imperfections in the Old Testament, as compared with the New, and have failed to grasp the idea of a progressive revelation, suited in each stage to the mental and moral development of the race. It was not until the fulness of the times had come that the complete revelation of God in Jesus Christ could be made. A long and arduous preparation of the race to receive that revelation was a necessity of the case, and even then all but a few choice spirits were unable to bear the full light of truth.

It is true that the Old Testament, as compared to the New, is "as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine." But the moon has its place in the heavens as well as the sun. The Fathers had a saying about the two Testaments that may be rendered in English thus:

In the Old the New is concealed;
In the New the Old is revealed.

The current depreciation of the Old Testament is the result of ignorance; to many Christians it is virtually an unknown book. With the exception of the Psalms, a story here and there in the historical books, and a chapter or two from the prophets, the Old

Testament is not enough studied to be understood. With fuller knowledge would come truer appreciation, and flippant criticism would give place to reverent praise. No one who has once learned what a treasure-house the Old Testament is, will gainsay the words of Paul to Timothy—spoken, be it remembered, not of the New Testament, but of the Old—"Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness."

PRESIDENT PATTON'S TREMENDOUS PAPER.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Methodist), New York, Feb. 6, 1890.

THE *Independent* publishes a very able paper read by President Francis L. Patton, of Princeton College, before the Presbyterian Social Union, in this city, Dec. 2, 1889. We have read it with attention. He defends the Westminster Confession as respects its apparent neglect of the divine love on the ground that no one denied it, and "therefore there was no need of setting it forth in antithesis to error," and that the divines "were able to distinguish between an exhortation and a summary of doctrine." He then shows that neither the mercy of God nor His love is neglected.

On the subject of elect infants he tries to hold the interpreter to the language of the Confession, and will not allow that the citation of passages from the writings of the Westminster divines or the debates of the Westminster Assembly should affect our interpretation of the Confession. He says that "the Confession teaches that only the elect will be saved; that those of the elect who are capable of faith are saved by faith; that those of the elect, such as elect infants, are saved without faith." He admits that the Confession does not "say that all who die in infancy are among the elect; but neither does it say that any who die in infancy are among the non-elect." On this we remark that the radical difficulty is that the general spirit of the Confession and the debates would require the idea of some non-elect infants and would justify their damnation. The use of the phrase in the Confession for the purpose of illustration would never have been made without the underlying assumption in the mind of the makers that some infants were elect and some were not.

When President Patton comes to speak

of the doctrine of reprobation, that we do no injustice to the spirit and statements of the Confession appears from what he then said: "Calvinism teaches that God elects individuals to eternal life out of His mere good pleasure. Now, if men are saved because they are elected, and God elects some, certainly some must be left. We may say that God passed them by, or reprobated them, or did not save them." Of course, if that be true, non-elect infants passed by, reprobated, not saved, are as really in the spirit of the Confession as any other non-elect persons. This also is made more clear by his vindication of the damnation of all the heathen, "be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of that religion they do profess."

We are encouraged to believe that our notice of this subject is not a violation of inter-Denominational courtesy because President Patton says: "It must amuse the theologians of the Methodist Church to notice that Presbyterian office-bearers are trying to persuade the Church that honors Charles Hodge and Henry B. Smith as its great dogmatic theologians to go over bodily to the platform of the Remonstrants." It does amuse us, except that we do not find pleasure in seeing a great historic Church "in the pangs of transformation." It also amuses us to see the name of Henry B. Smith coupled with that of Charles Hodge in this passage, because, though he was indeed a great dogmatic theologian as well as a metaphysician of the highest grade, unless we greatly mistake, he furnished to *The Independent* many years ago an article designed to show that there is no insuperable difficulty in the way of a union of Presbyterians and Methodists. Certainly we have read such an article from his pen, either as an original communication to *The Independent* or as quoted in an article in that paper.

President Patton gives a fine definition of the distinction between Calvinism and Arminianism: "Discussions regarding the divine decrees among the Reformed theologians resulted in the separation of the Remonstrants or Arminian party, Calvinists holding that election is of individuals to everlasting life out of the mere good pleasure of God; Arminians, that election is of individuals to everlasting life on the ground of foreseen faith." We thank thee, President Patton, for that word. It is beautiful in simplicity and definiteness. He says, as a conclusion from this: "Arminians may

be regarded historically as belonging to the Reformed family, but they are not Calvinists." Then he says: "Starting with depravity, which all Protestants believe in, we have the problem of redemption solved in sufficient grace for all, according to the Arminians; baptismal regeneration, according to the Lutherans; and sovereign election, according to the Calvinists."

President Patton is a great man in the best sense of the word. It was he who grappled Professor Swing and by the power of truth isolated that subtle underminer of the Presbyterian faith and forced him into the independent position which any one who sets himself above the written Word should be willing, or if not willing, should be compelled to assume. It was he who, as a theological teacher in Princeton, was selected to succeed the venerable and renowned President M'Cosh at the head of an institution rivalling in fame and power the best on this continent. He sets himself thoroughly against revision, believes in friendly relations with all Denominations, but says: "The reunion of Christendom, as that phrase is commonly understood, I do not believe in." His ability is equalled by his frankness.

We came to the conclusion, months ago, that it is impossible to revise the substance of that Confession without the introduction of the Arminian principles; that the Presbyterian Church cannot eliminate one doctrine without the logical overthrow of the Augustinian and Calvinistic fabric; and therefore that those who advocate revision cannot get what they want without an entire change in the doctrinal platform of the Church, which will make them practically Methodists. And this could not be done without a division of the Church. Only twenty years ago we saw in this city, with reverent admiration, a reunion of the New and Old School bodies of the Presbyterian Church accepting the Confession in "its historical, that is to say, its Augustinian or Calvinistic, sense." We should be sorry to see two sects instead of one.

The discussions thus far in the New York and other Presbyteries justify the presumption that the revisers will get nothing as to the substance of doctrine, but simply a coating of sugar laid over the theological pills, which they find bitter in the mouth, but which thorough-going, old-fashioned Calvinists maintain have a marvellously beneficial effect upon the health and soundness of the system, or that if they get anything more the body *must* divide.

THOMAS COKE, LL.D.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Methodist), New York, Jan. 23, 1890.

DEAR DR. BUCKLEY: Mrs. Charlotte Simonds Griffin, a widow residing here in Kingston, a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and an interested reader of *The Christian Advocate* for many years, called at the district parsonage this morning, and, in speaking of the hitherto unpublished letter of Bishop Coke, which appeared in last week's *Advocate*, says that she has in her possession papers received from her father which throw considerable light on the eventful period in the life of that eminent divine. Her mother, then Mary Hazleton, of County Tyrone, Ireland, was in 1797 under engagement of marriage to one Joseph Simonds, a school-teacher and lay preacher of the same county. Bishop Coke, preaching in that neighborhood, became deeply interested in Miss Hazleton, and feeling impressed that the Lord intended her for his life companion, called on her father and requested his permission to ask her hand in marriage. Mr. Hazleton replied that he would cheerfully give his consent to so honorable a union were it not for the fact that his daughter was already under promise of marriage to Mr. Joseph Simonds. With his high sense of honor this answer put an end to all the Bishop's plans concerning Miss Hazleton, and in a short time he officiated at her marriage with Mr. Simonds. This may have proved one of the great turning-points in his life. Like Asbury, he never married. After this disappointment in Ireland he seems to have given himself more zealously than ever to evangelistic and missionary labors. He immediately revisited America to stir up the Methodists there to greater earnestness; the next year returned to Europe and established missions in Ireland and Wales; then wrote his commentary on the Old Testament, his history of the Bible, history of the work in the West Indies, and many other valuable works. His closing years were devoted entirely to missionary labors.

Through his influence a mission was established in Sierra Leone in 1811, and at Ceylon in 1813. At the Conference of 1813 five preachers volunteered to go with him as missionaries to Ceylon. He at once accepted them, and donated \$30,000 from his private fortune to defray the expense that would be incurred. They embarked December 30th, 1813, and four months from then, while yet on their voyage, Coke was found dead in his cabin and was buried at sea.

When the news of his death reached America Bishop Asbury said: "A minister of Christ, in zeal, in labors, and in services, the greatest man of the last century."

Yours very truly,

R. W. VAN SCHOICK.

TWO ASPECTS OF SYRIAN LIFE.

BY V. F. P.

From *The Christian Weekly*, New York, Jan. 11, 1890.

IN order to understand why it is so hard to Christianize Syria, we must know of the religion of the Turks who rule the land. They are Mohammedans and got their religion from the Arabs, whom they conquered. It seemed at one time as if they were going to conquer all Europe. The Sultan of the Turks claims to be the successor of Mohammed, and to have authority over the whole Moslem world, even in India and China. But the Persians and some others deny this, saying their caliph must be an Arab like their prophet.

Mohammed was born 570 A.D., at Mecca, Arabia. The religion he founded is called Islam, and those who profess it are called Moslems. Islam means "entire submission to God." Nearly one eighth of the people of the world are Moslems. At their great university at Cairo, ten thousand students are under training, ready to go, at any time, to any part of the world to teach Islam. Very few who have professed this faith have ever been led to renounce it for Christianity. This is partly owing to persecution, for the Moslem holds it his bounden duty to kill any one who abjures his faith in the prophet.

When Mohammed was a young man he used to travel with some of the caravans going northward into Syria for trade. During these journeys he doubtless saw and heard much of the Jews and Christians; till, in some way he was led to accept the truth that there is but one God, and that it was wicked to worship images. His preaching this roused his fellow-townsmen against him. After a time he began to have what he called visions from God, which he wrote in a book called the Koran. If he wished to do anything, however wicked, he had only to add a chapter to his book and give it out as a message directly from God.

He and his followers undertook to advance the faith by force, and fearfully cruel wars resulted. Their creed is: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is His prophet." This is repeated over and over

again as the article of faith. Belief in one God and its utter rejection of all idols have given Mohammedanism its great power. No images or pictures are seen in its mosques. Mohammed commanded his followers to pursue and kill all who would not follow him; it is a religion of hatred, the opposite of Christ's law of love. It is a religion of forms. There are certain ceremonies to be observed, and in a very precise way. "The rules regarding religious exercises are very exact. Prayer is to be offered five times each day, and if it is not offered according to rule it loses all power. Unless one has first bathed, and unless the bathing was done after a prescribed form, the prayer is naught. According to the law of Islam, if a man washes his left hand before his right, or his nose before his teeth, he cannot pray acceptably. So, too, if the order of his prostrations is not exact, and if his face is not turned toward Mecca, his prayer is in vain. We remember seeing some Mohammedan pilgrims try to pray in the midst of a storm on the Mediterranean Sea. The vessel was tossing about and the poor bewildered people knew not in which direction Mecca was, and so they could not pray." Such reverence do they show to Mecca that they bury their dead with their sightless eyes toward it.

It is very impressive to the traveller in the East to hear the call for prayer from the minarets of the mosques. Wherever he may be, the Moslem instantly prostrates himself and goes through the forms with apparent devotion. This makes them seem very religious, but as they are seen cursing, cheating, and lying without any conscience whatever, this impression soon vanishes. A man will curse because he is interrupted or not allowed to pray. Lying is their especial vice. They appear to have almost lost the power to appreciate the truth and speak it. Their women are the slaves of the men.

There are no wheeled vehicles in Syria to-day, except a few imported ones, neither carts, drays nor wagons. Since the time of the Arab conquest, everything but the horse, camel and ass has been neglected. To these only were they accustomed, and they despised all other means of travel and transportation. Good roads then were not necessary; they quickly disappeared, the natives tell you that carriage-roads cannot be made, though they could be constructed at a moderate expense in nearly all parts of the kingdom. But as long as the Turk governs none will be made. "Even the Christian inhabitants of Lebanon, where

good roads are most needed, have no adequate appreciation of them, and take no pains to make them. They drive their loaded camels, mules, donkeys, along frightful paths, and endanger their own necks by riding over the same from generation to generation, without dreaming of any improvement." You must educate your nerves into indifference in this matter, and get ready as soon as possible to flounder over all sorts of break-neck places in the course of your pilgrimage.

In Proverbs we read: "Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eyelids look straight before thee. Turn not to the right hand or to the left, remove thy foot from evil." This you must be careful to do, lest you be reminded of Balaam and his much-abused ass. His path, like ours, had a wall on this side and a wall on that; the angel with drawn sword was in front, and the poor beast thrust herself against the wall and crushed the prophet's foot. Now this file of donkeys, with rough stone from the quarries on their backs, completely blocks up this narrow way, and if you attempt to force your horse past them, either on the right or the left, you will also meet with a crushed foot. Retreat to the next side alley, and let them pass.

It is only near Beirut that you meet such an annoyance. These crooked, narrow paths through the gardens of Beirut do, indeed, require one to obey the wise man's directions most closely. Only a few feet wide, with high walls on either side, and overshadowed by the rough arms and thorny palms of the prickly pear, the rider must keep wide awake, or he will find his face transfixed with the sharp spikes of the one, or his foot crushed against the other.

On the rocky, slippery path you see a commentary on the Mosaic Code. "See those men lifting a poor donkey that has fallen under its load." Moses says: "If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldst forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help him." Now the people lifting this donkey are bitter enemies—Maronites and Druses—quite recently engaged in a bloody social war, and ready to begin again on the very first opportunity, and yet they help to lift the ass that is lying under his burden, as though they were the best friends in the world. The plan is to lift the beast to its feet without taking off the load, which is a tedious business. Manners and customs, men and things, roads and loads, continue very much what they were three thousand years ago.

You read of the crooked, narrow streets,

no sidewalks and gutters in the middle. Walking along such a one progress becomes impossible for a line of loaded camels comes by. Only by bowing the head, creeping and dodging under, can you hope to pass. When a string of donkeys carrying such bundles of brush and water that their loads fairly brush both sides of the street meet you, your only course is to step into some recess in the street until they are gone. All the while a man is shouting "at the top of his voice: 'Daharak! wûshak! daharak! wûshak! Your back! your face! your back! your face!'" to warn all concerned to look sharply before and behind," or they may be run over, crushed against the wall, or have their clothes and faces torn by the brush; a very necessary admonition, is it not?

PRESBYTERIAN REFORMERS.

From *The Christian Register* (Unitarian), Boston, Jan. 23, 1890.

It is one of our objects to keep our readers informed of the force and tendency of modern theological movements. We have had much to say lately concerning the active movement in the Presbyterian Church. In no body of Christians at the present time is there a greater interest in the relation of theology to modern thought. In the Protestant Reformation, Presbyterianism had its bold reformers. Protestantism owes it a debt for its service which must be gratefully recognized, but to-day there is a new reformation going on of not less importance than that which took place under Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin. The breeze of reformation, bringing with it freshening thought and earnest conviction, was first felt in the Calvinistic churches in New England. The Unitarian and Universalist movements were the result of that impulse; but now the breeze is blowing steadily through the other churches. The agitation in the Presbyterian Church, turning as it does on the question of creed revision, illustrates the solvent influence of modern criticism, disintegrating the old and decayed formulas only that it may make room for fresh growths of religious conviction. Presbyterianism is feeling the influence of a new rational and ethical wave. The conservative and progressive forces in that body stand opposed to each other. The attitude of the combatants is well represented in two pamphlets before us: one is "Whither, Oh Whither? Tell me Where," by Rev. Dr.

McCosh; the other is "Creed Revision in the Presbyterian Churches," by Rev. Dr. Schaff of the Union Theological Seminary, both of them published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. McCosh's pamphlet is interrogative only in form. It is an attempt to answer the recent book of Rev. Dr. Briggs of the Union Theological Seminary, reviewed at length in these columns. Dr. McCosh is garrulous enough, but his pamphlet is rather a personal protest than an argument. Indeed, he is conscious of the weakness of his reply, when at the close he says, "I have done little more than show that it should be answered." His pamphlet is a blank cartridge; it makes some noise, but contains no bullet. Dr. Briggs is perfectly safe in his casemate against a discharge of smoke.

Not less eminent in the Presbyterian fold is Rev. Dr. Schaff, who takes up the progressive side. He is widely known as the professor of church history in Union Theological Seminary. For some years he has set his face against the extreme Calvinism represented by his colleague, Dr. Shedd. He has not hesitated to boldly denounce "its doctrine of reprobation, preterition, and the wholesale damnation of the non-Christian world." Likewise in this pamphlet Dr. Schaff does not shun to declare the counsel of God unto his brethren. His pamphlet consists of two papers, one originally contributed to the *Presbyterian Review*, but now doubled in size, and the other delivered before the New York Presbytery.

Taking up his first paper, we find Dr. Schaff acknowledging the effect on theological discussion of the progressive spirit of the age. "We live," he says, "in an age of research, discovery, and progress; and whoever refuses to go ahead must be content to be left behind to be outgrown. Whatever lives moves; and whatever ceases to move ceases to live. It is impossible for individual Christians or churches to be stationary: they must either go forward or backward." Dr. Schaff then shows that revision of creed is not a new thing, that it runs through the history of Christian doctrine, that Catholic and Protestant creeds alike have been subjected to it. He shows that the revision movement is not confined to America; it pervades the whole Protestant family. In the Established Church of Scotland, the difficulty has been met by broadening the terms of subscription. The Free Church of Scotland has resolved by a large majority upon a revision of the con-

fession. The Protestant Church of England has sought a solution by abridging the Westminster Confession.

We have pointed out from time to time, on satisfactory evidence that has come to our hands, that Presbyterian ministers do not generally believe the published creed of that Church. We are supported in this position by Dr. Schaff's unqualified testimony. "A growing number of ministers, elders, and students are calling for relief from bondage to certain doctrines which the theology of the age has outgrown, which are no more taught in the pulpits, and would not be tolerated in the pews. Some theologians still defend them, but few students believe them. I know of no Presbyterian minister in these United States who preaches the decree of reprobation or preterition, the irresponsibility of the sinner for not accepting the gospel, the limitation of the atonement to the small circle of the elect, and the eternal damnation of non-elect infants dying in infancy, and the damnation of the non-Christian world—heathen, Jews, and Mohammedans." Dr. Schaff quotes Dr. Cuyler of Brooklyn as saying that "ninety-nine hundredths do not believe these features of the Westminster Confession." When Dr. Schaff read his more moderate statement in Presbytery, he asked the brethren present to contradict his assertion by rising, if any of them ever preached on the decree of reprobation and preterition; but no one rose. Silence gives consent. We have likewise urged that consistency requires that either the Presbyterian Church should conform to its standards or that its standards should be made to conform to its beliefs, a thought which is repeated by Dr. Schaff in the following terms: "And yet these doctrines are supposed to be taught expressly or implicitly by the Westminster standards. If not, then let us disown them publicly and officially beyond the power of contradiction. *What cannot be preached in the pulpit ought not to be taught in a Confession of Faith, either expressly or by fair logical inference. On the other hand, what is taught in the Confession ought to be preached in the pulpit.*"

Dr. Schaff then takes up various features of the Westminster Confession in detail. He refuses to wrest words from their original meaning, and shows the bald, hard inhumanity of the Calvinistic doctrine. The Confession he says is "for the exclusive benefit of the elect. To this small inside circle all is bright and hopeful; but outside of it all is dark as midnight." It is the product of the most polemical and most intol-

erant age of Christendom." Dr. Schaff regards it as "highly significant, though almost incredible, that the clearest and strongest modern reproduction of the Westminster Confession," by which he refers to his colleague Dr. Shedd's *Dogmatic Theology*, "ends not with heaven, but with hell, and devotes only three pages to heaven and eighty-seven to hell." Referring to the doctrine of infant damnation, Dr. Schaff shows that it was held by Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and the Westminster divines. "Is it rational," he asks, "is it Christian, to conceive even the possibility that an infinitely good and merciful God should create, in his own image, countless millions of human beings to hurry them from the cradle to the tomb, and from the tomb to eternal perdition, before they have committed any actual sin? Is such a God not a monstrous caricature of the God of the Bible, who is a God of love?"

Dr. Schaff ends his article with the following language: "Let us be honest, and confess that old Calvinism is fast dying out. It has done a great work, and has done it well, but cannot satisfy the demands of the present age. We live in the nineteenth, and not in the seventeenth, century. Every age must produce its own theology and has its own mission to fulfil. We may learn wisdom and experience from the past, but we ought not to be slaves of the past and recognize no infallible authority but that of Christ. We must believe in the Holy Spirit, who is guiding the Church to ever higher life and light. He produced reformations in the past: he will produce greater reformations in the future." "We need a theology," he continues, "and a confession that is more human than Calvinism, more divine than Arminianism, and more Christian and catholic than either—a confession as broad and deep as God's love, and as strict and severe as God's justice. We need a theology and a confession that will not only bind the members of one denomination together, but be also a bond of sympathy between the various folds of the one flock of Christ, and prepare the way for the great work of the future—the reunion of Christendom in the Creed of Christ."

Dr. Schaff's criticism is one of the most powerful that has been uttered against the Westminster Confession. Sixty years ago, Channing showed the moral argument against Calvinism. The Presbyterian body is moving toward the position that Dr. Channing took in that famous address, and its movement is in the direction of light, liberty, and love.

THE GROWTH OF UNCHECKED SIN.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, Jan. 9, 1890.

THREE facts demand attention in relation to this subject.

One is the fact that when a specific temptation has been yielded to, it is easier afterward than it was before to fall before that particular temptation. A precedent has been established. A beginning has been made toward the formation of a habit. So far as there was an element of pleasure in sinning, this pleasure has been experienced, and the memory of it remains. So far as it was necessary to resist conscience in order to overcome its appeals, this resistance has been made successfully, and the memory of that, too, remains. The soul's relation to the sin in question is distinctly less hostile and more tolerant than it was before, and every time that the sin is committed this hostility diminishes, and this tolerance assumes more of the spirit of willing consent. That is to say, the power of an unchecked sin over its victim grows steadily.

Another is the fact that yielding to one temptation renders it easier to yield to other temptations. They all are outgrowths of the same root—selfishness. They all therefore are akin to each other, and naturally lead to one another. He who has cheated some one is far more strongly tempted to lie, in order to prevent detection, than if he had dealt honestly. A sin is like a seed in that, if let alone, it will produce a thousand other equally dangerous seeds, and the worst of the truth is that a seed of this sort is not confined, as in the natural world, to the reproduction of its own kind alone, but brings forth a thousand different sorts of evil seeds. The power of an unchecked sin is duplicated and reduplicated through its affinities with all other forms of sin.

A third, and the most significant, is the fact that unchecked sin develops the love of sin. It produces an evil state of the mind and heart, which is worse than the worst specific acts of sin. This inner condition is that reached when sin, at least in the forms which attract us, no longer seems repulsive; when we yield to it no more with actual shrinking, but assert to ourselves that, although it may not be justifiable upon the highest theory of the Christian life, it is something which to average human nature is excusable. Alas for us if we have reached this state of mind! Only a power actually divine can rescue us. It is true that the practice and pursuit of holiness beget within us the love of holiness. It is

equally true that continued yielding to evil causes us in due time to love evil and prefer it. We are face to face with the alternative. Which shall we choose?

Let these thoughts sink deeply into our hearts now as the new year opens, and as we try to adjust ourselves afresh to our spiritual responsibilities!

A WORD IN DEFENCE OF THE CATHOLIC CONGRESS.

BY LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

From *The Christian Union*, New York, Jan. 23, 1890.

AMID many things to respect and approve in the doings of the late "Catholic Congress," the covert reassertion of the utterly hopeless claim of the Pope to temporal power as a secular monarch makes, to most American ears, a harsh dissonance, as if a false note had been struck. There can be little doubt that it needed all the force of the clerical censorship, to which the utterances of laymen in that body were submitted, to keep the American Catholic sentiment on this point from a dangerous variance from the Roman, or rather the Vatican, standard. It is especially difficult in the case of that large class of American Catholics who are constantly setting up, in the name of eternal justice and indefeasible human rights, the claim of "Home Rule" and "Ireland for the Irish," to "catch on" at once to the other tune, and sing Rome not for the Romans but for the Pope as a king by divine right.

But whether or not we have rightly observed the current of thought among American Catholics on this point, there can be no mistake about the sentiment of the American people generally—that it is one of impatience, not to say indignation, at the stupid anachronism of the demand to reenslave the people of Central Italy under the absolute tyranny of the Pope-king or (putting it in another form) to inflict once more upon the most eminent personage among Christian ministers the old and intolerable disgrace of being the despotic head of the worst-governed State in Christendom.

Now, in all fairness toward our Catholic fellow-citizens, in a position of no small embarrassment between the requirements of their Church and the dictates of their feeling, we are bound to make a large allowance for the weight of the reasons which forbid them to modify their opinions on the sub-

ject of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. I do not think the matter is generally understood, even among Roman Catholics themselves.

Ever since the Vatican Council it has to be admitted that an infallible head, a living oracle of divine truth, is necessary to the Catholic Church according to the Roman conception of it. If this fails, the divine promises, in the Roman interpretation of them, have also failed, and the Church is nowhere. The foundations are destroyed, and what shall the righteous do?

Now, among the essential conditions to the exercise of the divine gift of infallibility by a Pope is "the full enjoyment of his freedom." I use the language of the able, learned, and most orthodox Dr. Hergenröther, author of "Anti-Janus." He says: "In this most theologians agree, that a definition *ex cathedra* has then been pronounced when the Pope, in the full enjoyment of his freedom, has, in a decree addressed to the whole Church," etc. The point became one of vital consequence in the controversy that preceded the Vatican Council, when the relentless polemics of Munich brought up the case of Pope Liberius as one clearly convicted of defining heresy. The defenders of infallibility had to "plead by confession and avoidance:" *Liberii lapsus non certus, nec si certus voluntarius*. It cannot be proved that he did define heresy, and if he did, he was not his own master; he was under the power of the Emperor Constantius, and the fear of the Emperor was the motive of his act. You cannot expect a Pope to be infallible in those circumstances. Even when he speaks *ex cathedra* as universal doctor, he is just as likely to be wrong as right, if he is in duress. This argument was used with much effect in getting out of the excessively annoying difficulty about Pope Liberius.

Now, here is the perfectly horrible mess into which things have been put by the indiscreet act of the Italian Government, just after the infallibility decree was proclaimed, in taking possession of Rome. Ever since that time, now nearly twenty years, the Pope, first Pius and then Leo, has been in duress. He takes every favorable opportunity, and some deplorably unfavorable ones, to declare, *urbi et orbi*, to the city and the world, that he has no freedom, that he is "a moral prisoner." Consequently, for these nearly twenty years the Catholic Church has had no infallible head. The gates of hell have prevailed against it. And, inasmuch as the chance of a holy alliance to make war on Italy and put the Pope back

again as king has dwindled to zero, it may be assumed that (in default of a prodigious miracle) the existing status will continue.

This distressing perplexity to the faithful is the very emergency for which the official pontifical gift of infallibility is needed—the *nodus vindice dignus*. How, except by an infallible utterance, are we to know for certain what is the truth in this matter? And yet how are we going to get our infallible utterance on this or any other point? The Pope says he is in duress. If it is true, then (say the Catholic theologians) he is fallible, even when making definitions of faith; you cannot be sure that he will not define flat heresy, as alleged against Popes Honorius and Liberius. If it is untrue, then what? We shudder at the alternative that he is not only fallible, but actually false. If he is infallible, he must be mistaken; but if he is fallible, he may be correct.

This is a perfect bull of Bashan of a dilemma, and I submit that there is much to be said in apology for those who, in terror of two such horns, take the short cut to the only visible refuge, and propose to solve the sphinx-like riddle by setting up the States of the Church again, under the old Donation of Constantine. I confess that I do not see how they are going to do it; but then neither do I see how they can do anything else. It will never do in the world to admit the impious charge of the Italian people that the Pope for twenty years has been shamming and sulking, that he is not in duress at all, but has a great deal more liberty than Simon Peter ever had.

One thought, I confess, has forced itself upon my mind as I have pondered this perplexing case. These are parlous times, when it behooves the managers of ecclesiastical affairs to take every precaution against mistakes. At such times, a pontiff infallible in his own right, although, as we have seen, absolutely necessary to the Church, is a most dangerous necessity. The whole pontificate of Pius IX. was an illustration of this, both his early reforming days and his later days when, in the bull *Quanta cura* and its accompanying Syllabus, he committed the Church to that monstrous string of propositions which it has been the constant effort of the Church ever since, in all civilized countries, to wriggle out of. The first years of Leo XIII., in one or two bold utterances, suggested the same peril—that the infallible, however held in with bit and bridle, might sometime get the bit in his teeth and say something "from the seat" which should come back, like the infelicities of Liberius and Honorius and

others, to plague the Church in future years or centuries. In this view, a more ingenious and judicious expedient could hardly be devised than this of keeping up before the face of the smiling world the solemn protest against holding the meek and suffering Pope "a moral prisoner." In the pinch of future controversy as to any pontifical utterance later than 1871, it will always be possible to say, "Oh, pshaw! that does not count. Duress, you know."

"THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE."

BY J. B. CHAMPNEY, GIRARD, ILL.

From *The Universalist*, Chicago, Jan. 18, 1890.

PERHAPS it might interest some one to give a brief description of the "Old Meeting-House" as it stood and flourished in my boyhood days, together with some of the customs of worship which prevailed during its days of glory. The house was the largest building within twenty miles, and was built in the year 1790. At the northeast corner was a horse block. There was neither tower nor portico; the exterior was never painted, and of course presented a dingy appearance. The windows were small, with heavy sash and panes of 7 x 9 glass. There were three entrances, one at each end and one in front. Opposite to the front door was the pulpit; and in each of the front corners was a flight of stairs leading to the galleries. The walls were plastered, though never whitewashed. The galleries were lofty, resting on columns about a foot in diameter. There was a row of wall pews, surrounding the house both above and below. On the half next the door were twelve square pews, esteemed the best in the house; while on the half next the pulpit were long seats, extending on either side from the broad aisle to the side aisles.

These were good, substantial benches, made of thick plank and capped with good-sized joists. The galleries were furnished with similar seats. The pews were occupied by the principal families, while the long seats were free to all, and were occupied by what might be called the common people. Over the stairs at the southeast corner were the negroes' seats. The pulpit was lofty and the ascent to it was by a flight of stairs outside. It had a recess or rostrum in which the speaker stood; behind him was a curtainless arched window; above him was a curiously gilded canopy, about

six feet in diameter, resembling in form a turnip cut in two; it was called a sounding-board, and hung near the speaker's head by a slender iron rod from the ceiling; and beneath him, in front of the pulpit, were the deacons' seats, in a sort of pew, when they sat facing the congregation, with the communion-table hanging by hinges in front of them. The pews were about six feet square, and the seats were hung by hinges so that they might be turned up as the congregation rose at prayers, as was the goodly custom of our fathers; and the "slam-bang" as they were carefully turned down again, at the close of prayers, was not unlike a volley of musketry.

Behold the congregation as it assembles on the Sabbath. Some of them came mounted on horses; the father with his wife or daughter on a pillion behind him, and perhaps his little boy astride before him. They ride up to the stone horse-block and dismount. The young men and maidens approach on foot. The two long hours of service in winter were indeed tedious. They came a long distance on ox-sleds, or perhaps have skimmed over the deep, untrodden snow on rackets. They enter the house stamping the snow from their feet and tramping along the uncarpeted aisles with their cowhide boots. Let us enter with them. The wintry blasts howl around and shriek among the loose clapboards; the half-fastened windows clatter; and the walls echo to the thumping of thick boots, to keep up the circulation, while clouds of vapor issue from their mouths; and as the man of God raises his hands in prayer, he must protect them with shaggy mittens. So comfortless and cold, it makes one shudder to think of it. Every man was in his appropriate place. A very important officer in those days in the church was the tithing man who took his seat in the gallery with whip in hand to maintain order and quiet among the boys. Sunday was a day dreaded by the young. During the long prayers, and long indeed they were, a pause was made at a certain stage of it for those who chose to sit down. The sermon begins, and advances by regular approach up to the eighthly and even to sixteenthly; it was a great relief when the end came. Then the singers, who had real work to perform, lined off Tate and Brady, two lines at a time, by a person selected for the purpose, and sang with good nasal twang and hearty good-will to some good old tune; and finally the benediction is pronounced. The congregation still remains in its place to go out in prescribed order; first the minister, and as he

passes the deacons, they follow—then those in the front seats, and so on in successive order. After a brief recess all reassembled for the afternoon service. The day ends by “singing the Catechism.” That Westminster Assembly’s Catechism—who that was trained in the early part of the century shall forget it?

“In Adam’s fall we sinned all;
My Book and heart shall never part.”

The story of John Rogers, Auger’s Prayer, and Dialogue between Youth, Christ and the Devil, were the only books besides the Bible and Psalm Book allowed in the hands of youth on the Sabbath. The Catechism concluded the religious observance of the day.

As those who were actors in these almost forgotten scenes recall them, with a thousand associations which it is impossible to recount, it seems like a dream.

It will be remembered that in those days the minister was settled for life, and all over eighteen years of age were taxed to pay his salary, whatever the belief might be. He could preach infant damnation and there was none to dispute. Everything was strictly orthodox, and travelling on the Sabbath was prohibited. All school teachers must be of the same faith, and the most important lesson to learn was the Catechism, and woe to the child that failed to recite it. As the mind turns back to scenes of early days, and then to witness the progress and advancement in religion and all other subjects up to this time, I feel that I have passed through the dark ages of the world.

PARAGRAPHIC.

The Christian Advocate tells a good story of a pastor who objected to an increase of salary. The worthy pastor declined the advance in his salary for the three following substantial reasons: 1st, said he, “because you can’t afford to give more than \$300. 2d. Because my preaching isn’t worth more than that. 3d. Because I have to collect my salary, which heretofore has been the hardest part of my labors among you. If I have to collect an additional hundred, it will kill me.” Happily in these times the pastor is relieved of this trouble of collection, and we never hear anything from him about his receipts being in excess of his ability. Apropos of this, however, are old Mrs. Smith’s remarks to the distinguished Dr. —, as she was ascending the high stone steps leading to the vestibule of his large church: “Dear me,” she said, “it’s fearful warm, and these steps are so steep.” “Allow me to assist you, madam,” said the affable divine, offering her his arm. When they had reached the top step, she asked: “Who is to preach here to day, sir?” “The regular parson, madam,”

replied the courteous doctor with a smile of approbation. “O my soul! let me go down again; I would rather listen to an old saw than him.” “Quite right, my dear madam, I wouldn’t go in to listen to him myself if I were not paid for it.”

HERE is a good story about a bishop—indeed, it would be a good story even about a dean. Bishop was homeward bound from the States, travelling luxuriously in a double cabin with Mrs. Bishop. It was a very hot night, thunder in the air, and as the Atlantic liner slipped through the water, doing her eighteen or nineteen knots an hour, the cabin would be lit up with the lightning flashes. Mrs. Bishop could not sleep for the heat. Bishop, appealed to, lumbered out of his berth, and opened a porthole. Suddenly there lobbed in through the porthole a wooden ball attached to a string. Bishop was perplexed, but he tied it up, coiling the string by a nail in the wall, and then retired to rest. The ball was an apple of discord in that peaceful cabin, for it hit against the side of the vessel as she lurched, and Mrs. Bishop grew querulous and disturbed. Up started the poor Bishop again, and, to end matters, he uncoiled the cord, and put the ball safe and sound under his pillow. There was a heavy thunderstorm, but the Bishop slept soundly that night. Next morning at breakfast, the captain presiding, he told the tale with a good deal of episcopal solemnity and detail. The captain laughed consumedly. Bishop laughed too, thinking his story a good one. Then the captain told him that the ball was the end of the lightning conductor. Bishop that night looked under his pillow before going to bed, and slept with a closed porthole.—*The Living Church, Chicago.*

It is not probable that the universities of Japan can offer an unlimited number of professorships to American instructors, otherwise there might be an exodus of our college faculties in that direction, so great are the emoluments of the position. Professor C. Merriwether, who went recently from Johns Hopkins University to accept a professorship of history in the University of Tokio, Japan, was received with every mark of distinction. A palace was given him for a residence with a retinue of more than fifty servants. A stable containing some of the finest horses in the kingdom was placed at his disposal, and all his appointments are on a scale befitting royalty. It now remains to be seen whether a plain American accustomed to the moderate salary of a college professor can adapt himself to such sumptuous surroundings and an army of Japanese lackeys without deriving more embarrassment than comfort from the situation.—*Christian Herald.*

THE Pope is making all possible resistance to the erection of a synagogue in Rome. Finding opposition of the “Grief and Bitterness” sort the most impressive, he is trying to have it understood that he is weeping his heart blood over the matter. The possibility is that the Italian Government may forbid it. But if so, what secularity is there for any one of the Protestant churches or institutions there? The Jew has a right to his places of religious worship, and the spirit that would forbid it savors rankly of Inquisition days and methods. The Jew is not a Christian, to be sure, but he is a spiritual and a monotheistic believer, and is not a persecutor. We certainly think that he is less of a menace than the Romanist, and Italian liberty should not be forbidden to him and his synagogue.—*Herald and Presbyter.*

IV.

AGNOSTICISM.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

BY W. C. MAGEE, BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

My reply to Professor Huxley is accordingly confined to the strictly personal questions raised by his references to myself. I hope that, after making due allowance for Hibernicisms and for imperfect acquaintance with English modes of thought and expression, he will accept my explanation as sufficient.

V.

AGNOSTICISM: A REJOINDER.

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

THE concluding paragraph of the Bishop of Peterborough's reply to the appeal which I addressed to him in the penultimate number of this review, leads me to think that he has seen a personal reference where none was intended. I had ventured to suggest that the demand that a man should call himself an infidel, savored very much of the flavor of a "bull;" and, even had the Right Reverend prelate been as stolid an Englishman as I am, I should have entertained the hope, that the oddity of talking of the cowardice of persons who object to call themselves by a nickname, which must in their eyes be as inappropriate as, in the intention of the users, it is offensive, would have struck him. But, to my surprise, the bishop has not even yet got sight of that absurdity. He thinks, that if I accept Dr. Wace's definition of his much-loved epithet, I am logically bound not only to adopt the titles of infidel and miscreant, but that I shall "even glory in those titles." As I have shown, "infidel" merely means somebody who does not believe what you believe yourself, and therefore Dr. Wace has a perfect right to call, say, my old Egyptian donkey-driver, Nooleh, and myself, infidels, just as Nooleh and I have a right to call him an infidel. The ludicrous aspect of the thing comes in only when either of us demands that the two others should so label themselves. It is a terrible business to have to explain a mild jest, and I pledge myself not to run the risk of offending in this way again. I see how wrong I was in trusting to the bishop's sense of the ludicrous, and I

beg leave unreservedly to withdraw my misplaced confidence. And I take this course the more readily as there is something about which I am obliged again to trouble the Bishop of Peterborough, which is certainly no jesting matter. Referring to my question, the bishop says that if they (the terms "infidel" and "miscreant")

should not be so proved to be applicable, then I should hold it to be as unreasonable to expect him to call himself by such names as he, I suppose, would hold it to be to expect us Christians to admit, without better reason than he has yet given us, that Christianity is "the sorry stuff" which, with his "profoundly" moral readiness to say "unpleasant" things, he is pleased to say that it is.*

According to those "English modes of thought and expression," of which the bishop seems to have but a poor opinion, this is a deliberate assertion that I had said that Christianity is "sorry stuff." And, according to the same standard of fair dealing, it is, I think, absolutely necessary for the Bishop of Peterborough to produce the evidence upon which this positive statement is based. I shall be unfeignedly surprised if he is successful in proving it; but it is proper for me to wait and see.

Those who passed from Dr. Wace's article in the last number of this review to the anticipatory confutation of it which followed in "The New Reformation," must have enjoyed the pleasure of a dramatic surprise—just as when the fifth act of a new play proves unexpectedly bright and interesting. Mrs. Ward will, I hope, pardon the comparison, if I say that her effective clearing away of antiquated incumbrances from the lists of the controversy reminds me of nothing so much as of the action of some neat-handed, but strong-wristed, Phyllis, who, gracefully wielding her long-handled "Turk's head," sweeps away the accumulated results of the toil of generations of spiders. I am the more indebted to this luminous sketch of the results of critical investigation, as it is carried out among those theologians who are men of science and not mere counsel for creeds, since it has relieved me from the necessity of dealing with the greater part of Dr. Wace's polemic, and enables me to devote more space to the really important issues which have been raised.†

Perhaps, however, it may be well for me to observe that approbation of the manner

* Page 88.

† I may, perhaps, return to the question of the authorship of the Gospels. For the present I must content myself with warning my readers against any reliance upon Dr. Wace's statements as to the results arrived at by modern criticism. They are as gravely as surprisingly erroneous.

in which a great biblical scholar, for instance Reuss, does his work does not commit me to the adoption of all, or indeed of any of his views; and further, that the disagreements of a series of investigators do not in any way interfere with the fact that each of them has made important contributions to the body of truth ultimately established. If I cite Buffon, Linnæus, Lamarck, and Cuvier, as having each and all taken a leading share in building up modern biology, the statement that every one of these great naturalists disagreed with, and even more or less contradicted, all the rest is quite true; but the supposition that the latter assertion is in any way inconsistent with the former, would betray a strange ignorance of the manner in which all true science advances.

Dr. Wace takes a great deal of trouble to make it appear that I have desired to evade the real questions raised by his attack upon me at the Church Congress. I assure the reverend principal that in this, as in some other respects, he has entertained a very erroneous conception of my intentions. Things would assume more accurate proportions in Dr. Wace's mind if he would kindly remember that it is just thirty years since ecclesiastical thunderbolts began to fly about my ears. I have had the "Lion and the Bear" to deal with, and it is long since I got quite used to the threatenings of episcopal Goliaths, whose crossiers were like unto a weaver's beam. So that I almost think I might not have noticed Dr. Wace's attack, personal as it was; and although, as he is good enough to tell us, separate copies are to be had for the modest equivalent of twopence, as a matter of fact, it did not come under my notice for a long time after it was made. May I further venture to point out that (reckoning postage) the expenditure of twopence-halfpenny, or, at the most, threepence, would have enabled Dr. Wace so far to comply with ordinary conventions as to direct my attention to the fact that he had attacked me before a meeting at which I was not present? I really am not responsible for the five months' neglect of which Dr. Wace complains. Singularly enough, the Englishry who swarmed about the Engadine, during the three months that I was being brought back to life by the glorious air and perfect comfort of the Maloja, did not, in my hearing, say anything about the important events which had taken place at the Church Congress; and I think I can venture to affirm that there was not a single copy of Dr. Wace's pamphlet in any of the hotel libraries which I rummaged in search

of something more edifying than dull English or questionable French novels.

And now, having, as I hope, set myself right with the public as regards the sins of commission and omission with which I have been charged, I feel free to deal with matters to which time and type may be more profitably devoted.

The Bishop of Peterborough indulges in the anticipation that Dr. Wace will succeed in showing me "that a scientist dealing with questions of theology or biblical criticism may go quite as far astray as theologians often do in dealing with questions of science."* I have already admitted that vaticination is not in my line; and I cannot so much as hazard a guess whether the spirit of prophecy which has descended on the bishop comes from the one or the other of the two possible sources recognized by the highest authorities. But I think it desirable to warn those who may be misled by phraseology of this kind, that the antagonists in the present debate are not quite rightly represented by it. Undoubtedly, Dr. Wace is a theologian; and I should be the last person to question that his whole cast of thought and style of argumentation are pre-eminently and typically theological. And, if I must accept the hideous term "scientist" (to which I object even more than I do to "infidel"), I am ready to admit that I am one of the people so denoted.

But I hope and believe that there is not a solitary argument I have used, or that I am about to use, which is original, or has anything to do with the fact that I have been chiefly occupied with natural science. They are all, facts and reasoning alike, either identical with, or consequential upon, propositions which are to be found in the works of scholars and theologians of the highest repute in the only two countries, Holland and Germany,† in which, at the present time, professors of theology are to be found whose tenure of their posts does not depend upon the results to which their inquiries lead them.‡

* Page 90.

† The United States ought, perhaps, to be added, but I am not sure.

‡ Imagine that all our chairs of Astronomy had been founded in the fourteenth century, and that their incumbents were bound to sign Ptolemaic articles. In that case, with every respect for the efforts of persons thus hampered to attain and expound the truth, I think men of common sense would go elsewhere to learn astronomy. Zeller's "Vorträge und Abhandlungen" were published and came into my hands a quarter of a century ago. The writer's rank, as a theologian to begin with, and subsequently as a historian of Greek philosophy, is of the highest. Among these essays are two—"Das Urchristenthum" and "Die Tübinger historische Schule"—which are likely to be of more use to those who wish to know the real state of the case than all that the official "apologists," with their one eye on truth and the other on the tenets of their sect, have written. For the opinion of a scientific theologian about theologians of this stamp, see pp. 225 and 227 of the "Vorträge."

It is true that, to the best of my ability, I have satisfied myself of the soundness of the foundations on which my arguments are built, and I desire to be held fully responsible for everything I say. But, nevertheless, my position is really no more than that of an expositor; and my justification for undertaking it is simply that conviction of the supremacy of private judgment (indeed, of the impossibility of escaping it) which is the foundation of the Protestant Reformation, and which was the doctrine accepted by the vast majority of the Anglicans of my youth, before that backsliding toward the "beggary rudiments" of an effete and idolatrous sacerdotalism which has, even now, provided us with the saddest spectacle which has been offered to the eyes of Englishmen in this generation. A high court of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with a host of great lawyers in battle array, is, and, for Heaven knows how long, will be occupied with these very questions of "washings of cups and pots and brazen vessels," which the Master, whose professed representatives are rending the Church over these squabbles, had in his mind when, as we are told, he uttered the scathing rebuke:

Well did Isaiah prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written:

This people honoreth me with their lips,
But their heart is far from me:
But in vain do they worship me,
Teaching as their doctrines the precepts of men
(Mark vii. 6, 7).

Men who can be absorbed in bickerings over miserable disputes of this kind can have but little sympathy with the old evangelical doctrine of the "open Bible," or anything but a grave misgiving of the results of diligent reading of the Bible, without the help of ecclesiastical spectacles, by the mass of the people. Greatly to the surprise of many of my friends, I have always advocated the reading of the Bible, and the diffusion of the study of that most remarkable collection of books among the people. Its teachings are so infinitely superior to those of the sects, who are just as busy now as the Pharisees were eighteen hundred years ago, in smothering them under "the precepts of men;" it is so certain, to my mind, that the Bible contains within itself the refutation of nine tenths of the mixture of sophistical metaphysics and old-world superstition which has been piled round it by the so-called Christians of later times; it is so clear that the only immediate and ready antidote to the poison which has been mixed with Christianity, to the intoxication and delusion of mankind, lies in copious draughts

from the undefiled spring, that I exercise the right and duty of free judgment on the part of every man, mainly for the purpose of inducing other laymen to follow my example. If the New Testament is translated into Zulu by Protestant missionaries, it must be assumed that a Zulu convert is competent to draw from its contents all the truths which it is necessary for him to believe. I trust that I may, without immodesty, claim to be put on the same footing as the Zulu.

The most constant reproach which is launched against persons of my way of thinking is, that it is all very well for us to talk about the deductions of scientific thought, but what are the poor and the uneducated to do? Has it ever occurred to those who talk in this fashion that the creeds and articles of their several confessions; their determination of the exact nature and extent of the teachings of Jesus; their expositions of the real meaning of that which is written in the Epistles (to leave aside all questions concerning the Old Testament) are nothing more than deductions, which, at any rate, profess to be the result of strictly scientific thinking; and which are not worth attending to unless they really possess that character? If it is not historically true that such and such things happened in Palestine eighteen centuries ago, what becomes of Christianity? And what is historical truth but that of which the evidence bears strict scientific investigation? I do not call to mind any problem of natural science which has come under my notice, which is more difficult, or more curiously interesting as a mere problem, than that of the origin of the synoptic Gospels and that of the historical value of the narratives which they contain. The Christianity of the churches stands or falls by the results of the purely scientific investigation of these questions. They were first taken up in a purely scientific spirit just about a century ago; they have been studied, over and over again, by men of vast knowledge and critical acumen; but he would be a rash man who should assert that any solution of these problems, as yet formulated, is exhaustive. The most that can be said is that certain prevalent solutions are certainly false, while others are more or less probably true.

If I am doing my best to rouse my countrymen out of their dogmatic slumbers, it is not that they may be amused by seeing who gets the best of it, in a contest between a "scientist" and a theologian. The serious question is whether theological men of science, or theological special pleaders, are to

have the confidence of the general public ; it is the question whether a country in which it is possible for a body of excellent clerical and lay gentlemen to discuss, in public meeting assembled, how much it is desirable to let the congregations of the faithful know of the results of biblical criticism, is likely to wake up with anything short of the grasp of a rough lay hand upon its shoulder ; it is the question whether the New Testament books, being, as I believe they were, written and compiled by people who, according to their lights, were perfectly sincere, will not, when properly studied as ordinary historical documents, afford us the means of self-criticism. And it must be remembered that the New Testament books are not responsible for the doctrine invented by the churches that they are anything but ordinary historical documents. The author of the third Gospel tells us as straightforwardly as a man can that he has no claim to any other character than that of an ordinary compiler and editor, who had before him the works of many and variously qualified predecessors.

In my former papers, according to Dr. Wace, I have evaded giving an answer to his main proposition, which he states as follows :

Apart from all disputed points of criticism, no one practically doubts that our Lord lived and that he died on the cross, in the most intense sense of filial relation to his Father in heaven, and that he bore testimony to that Father's providence, love, and grace toward mankind. The Lord's Prayer affords a sufficient evidence on these points. If the Sermon on the Mount alone be added, the whole unseen world, of which the agnostic refuses to know anything, stands unveiled before us. . . . If Jesus Christ preached that sermon, made those promises, and taught that prayer, then any one who says that we know nothing of God, or of a future life, or of an unseen world, says that he does not believe Jesus Christ.*

Again—

The main question at issue, in a word, is one which Professor Huxley has chosen to leave entirely on one side—whether, namely, allowing for the utmost uncertainty on other points of the criticism to which he appeals, there is any reasonable doubt that the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount afford a true account of our Lord's essential belief and cardinal teaching.†

I certainly was not aware that I had evaded the questions here stated ; indeed, I should say that I have indicated my reply to them pretty clearly ; but, as Dr. Wace wants a plainer answer, he shall certainly be gratified. If, as Dr. Wace declares it is, his "whole case is involved in" the argument as stated in the latter of these two extracts, so much the worse for his whole case.

For I am of opinion that there is the gravest reason for doubting whether the "Sermon on the Mount" was ever preached, and whether the so-called "Lord's Prayer" was ever prayed by Jesus of Nazareth. My reasons for this opinion are, among others, these : There is now no doubt that the three synoptic Gospels, so far from being the work of three independent writers, are closely interdependent,* and that in one of two ways. Either all three contain, as their foundation, versions, to a large extent verbally identical, of one and the same tradition ; or two of them are thus closely dependent on the third ; and the opinion of the majority of the best critics has, of late years, more and more converged toward the conviction that our canonical second Gospel (the so-called "Mark's" Gospel) is that which most closely represents the primitive groundwork of the three.† That I take to be one of the most valid results of New Testament criticism, of immeasurably greater importance than the discussion about dates and authorship.

But if, as I believe to be the case, beyond any rational doubt or dispute, the second Gospel is the nearest extant representative of the oldest tradition, whether written or oral, how comes it that it contains neither the "Sermon on the Mount" nor the "Lord's Prayer," those typical embodiments, according to Dr. Wace, of the "essential belief and cardinal teaching" of Jesus ? Not only does "Mark's" Gospel fail to contain the "Sermon on the Mount," or anything but a very few of the sayings contained in that collection ; but, at the point of the history of Jesus where the "Sermon" occurs in "Matthew," there is in "Mark" an apparently unbroken narrative, from the calling of James and John to the healing of Simon's wife's mother. Thus the oldest tradition not only ignores the "Sermon on the Mount," but, by implication, raises a probability against its being delivered when

* I suppose this is what Dr. Wace is thinking about when he says that I allege that there "is no visible escape" from the supposition of an "Ur-Marcus" (p. 82). That a "theologian of repute" should confound an indisputable fact with one of the modes of explaining that fact, is not so singular as those who are unaccustomed to the ways of theologians might imagine.

† Any examiner whose duty it has been to examine into a case of "copying" will be particularly well prepared to appreciate the force of the case stated in that most excellent little book, "The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels," by Dr. Abbott and Mr. Ruckbrooke (Macmillan, 1884). To those who have not passed through such painful experiences I may recommend the brief discussion of the genuineness of the "Casket Letters" in my friend Mr. Skelton's interesting book, "Maidland of Lethington." The second edition of Holtzmann's "Lehrbuch," published in 1886, gives a remarkably fair and full account of the present results of criticism. At page 366 he writes that the present burning question is whether the "relatively primitive narration and the root of the other synoptic texts is contained in Matthew or in Mark." It is only on this point that properly informed (sachkundige) critics differ, and he decides in favor of Mark.

and where the later "Matthew" inserts it in his compilation.

And still more weighty is the fact that the third Gospel, the author of which tells us that he wrote after "many" others had "taken in hand" the same enterprise; who should therefore have known the first Gospel (if it existed), and was bound to pay to it the deference due to the work of an apostolic eye-witness (if he had any reason for thinking it was so)—this writer, who exhibits far more literary competence than the other two, ignores any "Sermon on the Mount," such as that reported by "Matthew," just as much as the oldest authority does. Yet "Luke" has a great many passages identical, or parallel, with those in "Matthew's" "Sermon on the Mount," which are, for the most part, scattered about in a totally different connection.

Interposed, however, between the nomination of the apostles and a visit to Capernaum; occupying, therefore, a place which answers to that of the "Sermon on the Mount" in the first Gospel, there is, in the third Gospel, a discourse which is as closely similar to the "Sermon on the Mount" in some particulars, as it is widely unlike it in others.

This discourse is said to have been delivered in a "plain" or "level place" (Luke vi. 17), and by way of distinction we may call it the "Sermon on the Plain."

I see no reason to doubt that the two evangelists are dealing, to a considerable extent, with the same traditional material; and a comparison of the two "sermons" suggests very strongly that "Luke's" version is the earlier. The correspondences between the two forbid the notion that they are independent. They both begin with a series of blessings, some of which are almost verbally identical. In the middle of each (Luke vi. 27-38, Matthew v. 43-48) there is a striking exposition of the ethical spirit of the command given in Leviticus xix. 18. And each ends with a passage containing the declaration that a tree is to be known by its fruit, and the parable of the house built on the sand. But while there are only twenty-nine verses in the "Sermon on the Plain," there are one hundred and seven in the "Sermon on the Mount;" the excess in length of the latter being chiefly due to the long interpolations, one of thirty verses before, and one of thirty-four verses after, the middlemost parallelism with Luke. Under these circumstances, it is quite impossible to admit that there is more probability that "Matthew's" version of the sermon is historically accurate than

there is that Luke's version is so; and they cannot both be accurate.

"Luke" either knew the collection of loosely connected and aphoristic utterances which appear under the name of the "Sermon on the Mount" in "Matthew," or he did not. If he did not, he must have been ignorant of the existence of such a document as our canonical "Matthew," a fact which does not make for the genuineness or the authority of that book. If he did, he has shown that he does not care for its authority on a matter of fact of no small importance; and that does not permit us to conceive that he believed the first Gospel to be the work of an authority to whom he ought to defer, let alone that of an apostolic eye-witness.

The tradition of the Church about the second Gospel, which I believe to be quite worthless, but which is all the evidence there is for "Mark's" authorship, would have us believe that "Mark" was little more than the mouth-piece of the apostle Peter. Consequently, we are to suppose that Peter either did not know, or did not care very much for, that account of the "essential belief and cardinal teaching" of Jesus which is contained in the Sermon on the Mount; and, certainly, he could not have shared Dr. Wace's view of its importance.*

I thought that all fairly attentive and intelligent students of the Gospels, to say nothing of theologians of reputation, knew these things. But how can any one who does know them have the conscience to ask whether there is "any reasonable doubt" that the Sermon on the Mount was preached by Jesus of Nazareth? If conjecture is permissible, where nothing else is possible, the most probable conjecture seems to be that "Matthew," having a *cento* of sayings attributed—rightly or wrongly it is impossible to say—to Jesus, among his materials, thought they were, or might be, records of a continuous discourse, and put them in at the place he thought likeliest. Ancient historians of the highest character saw no harm in composing long speeches which never were spoken, and putting them into the mouths of statesmen and warriors; and I presume that whoever is represented by "Matthew" would have been grievously as-

* Holtzmann ("Die synoptischen Evangelien," 1863, p. 75), following Ewald, argues that the "Source A" (= the threefold tradition, more or less) contained something that answered to the "Sermon on the Plain" immediately after the words of our present Mark, "And he cometh into a house" (iii. 19). But what conceivable motive could "Mark" have for omitting it? Holtzmann has no doubt, however, that the "Sermon on the Mount" is a compilation, or, as he calls it in his recently published "Lehrbuch" (p. 372), "an artificial mosaic work."

tonished to find that any one objected to his following the example of the best models accessible to him.

So with the "Lord's Prayer." Absent in our representative of the oldest tradition, it appears in both "Matthew" and "Luke." There is reason to believe that every pious Jew, at the commencement of our era, prayed three times a day, according to a formula which is embodied in the present *Schmone-Esre** of the Jewish prayer-book. Jesus, who was assuredly, in all respects, a pious Jew, whatever else he may have been, doubtless did the same. Whether he modified the current formula, or whether the so-called "Lord's Prayer" is the prayer substituted for the *Schmone-Esre* in the congregations of the Gentiles, who knew nothing of the Jewish practice, is a question which can hardly be answered.

In a subsequent passage of Dr. Wace's article† he adds to the list of the verities which he imagines to be unassailable, "The story of the Passion." I am not quite sure what he means by this—I am not aware that any one (with the exception of certain ancient heretics) has propounded doubts as to the reality of the crucifixion; and certainly I have no inclination to argue about the precise accuracy of every detail of that pathetic story of suffering and wrong. But, if Dr. Wace means, as I suppose he does, that that which, according to the orthodox view, happened after the crucifixion, and which is, in a dogmatic sense, the most important part of the story, is founded on solid historical proofs, I must beg leave to express a diametrically opposite conviction.

What do we find when the accounts of the events in question, contained in the three synoptic Gospels, are compared together? In the oldest, there is a simple, straightforward statement which, for anything that I have to urge to the contrary, may be exactly true. In the other two, there is, round this possible and probable nucleus, a mass of accretions of the most questionable character.

The cruelty of death by crucifixion depended very much upon its lingering character. If there were a support for the weight of the body, as not unfrequently was the case, the pain during the first hours of the infliction was not, necessarily, extreme; nor need any serious physical symptoms at once arise from the wounds made by the nails in the hands and feet, supposing they were nailed, which was not invariably the

case. When exhaustion set in, and hunger, thirst, and nervous irritation had done their work, the agony of the sufferer must have been terrible; and the more terrible that, in the absence of any effectual disturbance of the machinery of physical life, it might be prolonged for many hours, or even days. Temperate, strong men, such as the ordinary Galilean peasants were, might live for several days on the cross. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind when we read the account contained in the fifteenth chapter of the second Gospel.

Jesus was crucified at the third hour (xv. 25), and the narrative seems to imply that he died immediately after the ninth hour (v. 34). In this case he would have been crucified only six hours; and the time spent on the cross cannot have been much longer, because Joseph of Arimathea must have gone to Pilate, made his preparations, and deposited the body in the rock-cut tomb before sunset, which, at that time of the year, was about the twelfth hour. That any one should die after only six hours' crucifixion could not have been at all in accordance with Pilate's large experience in the effects of that method of punishment. It, therefore, quite agrees with what might be expected if Pilate " marvelled if he were already dead," and required to be satisfied on this point by the testimony of the Roman officer who was in command of the execution party. Those who have paid attention to the extraordinarily difficult question, What are the indisputable signs of death?—will be able to estimate the value of the opinion of a rough soldier on such a subject; even if his report to the procurator were in no wise affected by the fact that the friend of Jesus, who anxiously awaited his answer, was a man of influence and of wealth.

The inanimate body, wrapped in linen, was deposited in a spacious,* cool, rock chamber, the entrance of which was closed, not by a well-fitting door, but by a stone rolled against the opening, which would of course allow free passage of air. A little more than thirty-six hours afterward (Friday 6 P.M., to Sunday 6 A.M., or a little after) three women visit the tomb and find it empty. And they are told by a young man "arrayed in a white robe" that Jesus is gone to his native country of Galilee, and that the disciples and Peter will find him there.

Thus it stands, plainly recorded, in the

* See Schürer, "Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes," Zweiter Theil, p. 384.
† Page 65.

* Spacious, because a young man could sit in it "on the right side" (xv. 5), and therefore with plenty of room to spare.

oldest tradition that, for any evidence to the contrary, the sepulchre may have been vacated at any time during the Friday or Saturday nights. If it is said that no Jew would have violated the Sabbath by taking the former course, it is to be recollected that Joseph of Arimathea might well be familiar with that wise and liberal interpretation of the fourth commandment, which permitted works of mercy to men—nay even the drawing of an ox or an ass out of a pit—on the Sabbath. At any rate, the Saturday night was free to the most scrupulous observers of the law.

These are the facts of the case as stated by the oldest extant narrative of them. I do not see why any one should have a word to say against the inherent probability of that narrative; and, for my part, I am quite ready to accept it as an historical fact, that so much and no more is positively known of the end of Jesus of Nazareth. On what grounds can a reasonable man be asked to believe any more? So far as the narrative in the first Gospel, on the one hand, and those in the third Gospel and the Acts, on the other go beyond what is stated in the second Gospel, they are hopelessly discrepant with one another. And this is the more significant because the pregnant phrase "some doubted," in the first Gospel, is ignored in the third.

But it is said that we have the witness Paul speaking to us directly in the Epistles. There is little doubt that we have, and a very singular witness he is. According to his own showing, Paul, in the vigor of his manhood, with every means of becoming acquainted, at first hand, with the evidence of eye-witnesses, not merely refused to credit them, but "persecuted the church of God and made havoc of it." The reasoning of Stephen fell dead upon the acute intellect of this zealot for the traditions of his fathers: his eyes were blind to the ecstatic illumination of the martyr's countenance "as it had been the face of an angel;" and when, at the words "Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God," the murderous mob rushed upon and stoned the rapt disciple of Jesus, Paul ostentatiously made himself their official accomplice.

Yet this strange man, because he has a vision one day, at once, and with equally headlong zeal, flies to the opposite pole of opinion. And he is most careful to tell us that he abstained from any re-examination of the facts.

Immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood; neither went I up to Jerusalem to them

which were apostles before me; but I went away into Arabia. (Galatians i. 16, 17.)

I do not presume to quarrel with Paul's procedure. If it satisfied him, that was his affair; and, if it satisfies any one else, I am not called upon to dispute the right of that person to be satisfied. But I certainly have the right to say that it would not satisfy me in like case; that I should be very much ashamed to pretend that it could, or ought to, satisfy me; and that I can entertain but a very low estimate of the value of the evidence of people who are to be satisfied in this fashion, when questions of objective fact, in which their faith is interested, are concerned. So that, when I am called upon to believe a great deal more than the oldest Gospel tells me about the final events of the history of Jesus on the authority of Paul (1 Corinthians xv. 5-8), I must pause. Did he think it, at any subsequent time, worth while "to confer with flesh and blood," or, in modern phrase, to re-examine the facts for himself? or was he ready to accept anything that fitted in with his preconceived ideas? Does he mean, when he speaks of all the appearances of Jesus after the crucifixion as if they were of the same kind, that they were all visions, like the manifestation to himself? And, finally, how is this account to be reconciled with those in the first and the third Gospels—which, as we have seen, disagree with one another?

Until these questions are satisfactorily answered, I am afraid that, so far as I am concerned, Paul's testimony cannot be seriously regarded, except as it may afford evidence of the state of traditional opinion at the time at which he wrote, say between 55 and 60 A.D.; that is, more than twenty years after the event; a period much more than sufficient for the development of any amount of mythology about matters of which nothing was really known. A few years later, among the contemporaries and neighbors of the Jews, and, if the most probable interpretation of the Apocalypse can be trusted, among the followers of Jesus also, it was fully believed, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, that the Emperor Nero was not really dead, but that he was hidden away somewhere in the East, and would speedily come again at the head of a great army, to be revenged upon his enemies.

Thus, I conceive that I have shown cause for the opinion that Dr. Wace's challenge touching the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and the Passion, was more valourous than discreet. After all this discussion I am still at the agnostic point. Tell me, first, what Jesus can be proved to

have been, said, and done, and I will tell you whether I believe him, or in him,* or not! As Dr. Wace admits that I have dissipated his lingering shade of unbelief about the bedevilment of the Gadarene pigs, he might have done something to help mine. Instead of that, he manifests a total want of conception of the nature of the obstacles which impede the conversion of his "infidels."

The truth I believe to be, that the difficulties in the way of arriving at a sure conclusion as to these matters, from the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, or any other data offered by the synoptic Gospels (and *a fortiori* from the fourth Gospel) are insuperable. Every one of these records is colored by the prepossessions of those among whom the primitive traditions arose and of those by whom they were collected and edited; and the difficulty of making allowance for these prepossessions is enhanced by our ignorance of the exact dates at which the documents were first put together; of the extent to which they have been subsequently worked over and interpolated; and of the historical sense, or want of sense, and the dogmatic tendencies, of their compilers and editors. Let us see if there is any other road which will take us into something better than negation.

There is a widespread notion that the "primitive Church," while under the guidance of the apostles and their immediate successors, was a sort of dogmatic dovecote, pervaded by the most loving unity and doctrinal harmony. Protestants, especially, are fond of attributing to themselves the merit of being nearer "the Church of the apostles" than their neighbors; and they are the less to be excused for their strange delusion because they are great readers of the documents which prove the exact contrary. The fact is that, in the course of the first three centuries of its existence, the Church rapidly underwent a process of evolution of the most remarkable character, the final stage of which is far more different from the first than Anglicanism is from Quakerism. The key to the comprehension of the problem of the origin of that which is now called "Christianity," and its relation to Jesus of Nazareth, lies here. Nor can we arrive at any sound conclusion as to what it is probable that Jesus actually said

and did without being clear on this head. By far the most important and subsequently influential steps in the evolution of Christianity took place in the course of the century, more or less, which followed upon the crucifixion. It is almost the darkest period of Church history, but, most fortunately, the beginning and the end of the period are brightly illuminated by the contemporary evidence of two writers of whose historical existence there is no doubt,* and against the genuineness of whose most important works there is no widely admitted objection. These are Justin, the philosopher and martyr, and Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. I shall call upon these witnesses only to testify to the condition of opinion among those who called themselves disciples of Jesus in their time.

Justin, in his dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, which was written somewhere about the middle of the second century, enumerates certain categories of persons who, in his opinion, will, or will not, be saved.† These are:

1. Orthodox Jews who refuse to believe that Jesus is the Christ. *Not saved.*

2. Jews who observe the law; believe Jesus to be the Christ; but who insist on the observance of the law by Gentile converts. *Not saved.*

3. Jews who observe the law; believe Jesus to be the Christ, and hold that Gentile converts need not observe the law. *Saved* (in Justin's opinion; but some of his fellow-Christians think the contrary).

4. Gentile converts to the belief in Jesus as the Christ, who observe the law. *Saved* (possibly).

5. Gentile believers in Jesus as the Christ, who do not observe the law themselves (except so far as the refusal of idol sacrifices), but do not consider those who do observe it heretics. *Saved* (this is Justin's own view).

6. Gentile believers who do not observe the law except in refusing idol sacrifices, and hold those who do observe it to be heretics. *Saved.*

7. Gentiles who believe Jesus to be the Christ and call themselves Christians, but who eat meats sacrificed to idols. *Not saved.*

8. Gentiles who disbelieve in Jesus as the Christ. *Not saved.*

Justin does not consider Christians who believe in the natural birth of Jesus, of

* I am very sorry for the interpolated "in," because citation ought to be accurate in small things as in great. But what difference it makes whether one "believes Jesus" or "believes in Jesus" much thought has not enabled me to discover. If you "believe him" you must believe him to be what he professed to be—that is, "believe in him" and if you "believe in him" you must necessarily "believe him."

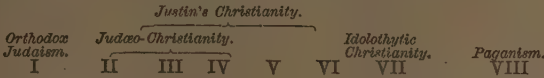
* True for Justin; but there is a school of theological critics, who more or less question the historical reality of Paul and the genuineness of even the four cardinal epistles.

† See "Dial. cum Tryphone," sections 47 and 35. It is to be understood that Justin does not arrange these categories in order as I have done.

whom he implies that there is a respectable minority, to be heretics, though he himself strongly holds the preternatural birth of Jesus and his pre-existence as the "Logos" or "Word." He conceives the Logos to be a second God, inferior to the first, unknowable, God, with respect to whom Justin, like Philo, is a complete agnostic. The Holy Spirit is not regarded by Justin as a separate personality, and is often mixed up with the "Logos." The doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul is, for Justin, a heresy; and he is as firm a believer

in the resurrection of the body as in the speedy second coming and the establishment of the millennium.

This pillar of the Church in the middle of the second century—a much-travelled native of Samaria—was certainly well acquainted with Rome, probably with Alexandria, and it is likely that he knew the state of opinion throughout the length and breadth of the Christian world as well as any man of his time. If the various categories above enumerated are arranged in a series thus—

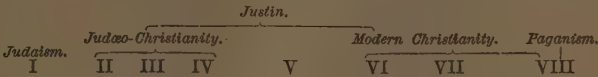


it is obvious that they form a gradational series from orthodox Judaism, on the extreme left, to paganism, whether philosophic or popular, on the extreme right; and it will further be observed that, while Justin's conception of Christianity is very broad, he rigorously excludes two classes of persons who, in his time, called themselves Christians; namely, those who insist on circumcision and other observances of the law on the part of Gentile converts; that is to say, the strict Judæo-Christians (II), and on the other hand, those who assert the lawfulness of eating meat offered to idols—whether they are gnostics or not (VII). These last I have called "idolothytic" Christians, because I cannot devise a better name, not be-

cause it is strictly defensible etymologically.

At the present moment I do not suppose there is an English missionary in any heathen land who would trouble himself whether the materials of his dinner had been previously offered to idols or not. On the other hand, I suppose there is no Protestant sect within the pale of orthodoxy, to say nothing of the Roman and Greek Churches, which would hesitate to declare the practice of circumcision and the observance of the Jewish Sabbath and dietary rules, shockingly heretical.

Modern Christianity has, in fact, not only shifted far to the right of Justin's position, but it is of much narrower compass.



For, though it includes VII, and even, in saint and relic worship, cuts a "monstrous cantel" out of paganism, it excludes, not only all Judæo-Christians, but all who doubt that such are heretics. Ever since the thirteenth century, the Inquisition would have cheerfully burned, and in Spain did abundantly burn, all persons who came under the categories II, III, IV, V. And the wolf would play the same havoc now if it could only get its blood-stained jaws free from the muzzle imposed by the secular arm.

Further, there is not a Protestant body except the Unitarian, which would not declare Justin himself a heretic, on account of his doctrine of the inferior godship of the Logos; while I am very much afraid that, in strict logic, Dr. Wace would be under the necessity, so painful to him, of calling him an "infidel," on the same and on other grounds.

Now let us turn to our other authority.

If there is any result of critical investigations of the sources of Christianity which is certain,* it is that Paul of Tarsus wrote the Epistle to the Galatians somewhere between the years 55 and 60 A.D., that is to say, roughly, twenty, or five-and-twenty, years after the crucifixion. If this is so, the Epistle to the Galatians is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of extant documentary evidences of the state of the primitive Church. And, be it observed, if it is Paul's writing, it unquestionably furnishes us with the evidence of a participator in the transactions narrated. With the exception of two or three of the other Pauline epistles, there is not one solitary book in the New Testament of the authorship and authority of which we have such good evidence.

(To be continued.)

* I guard myself against being supposed to affirm that even the four cardinal epistles of Paul may not have been seriously tampered with. See note on page 396.

GOODLY WORDS.

Readings from the Mystics, selected by C. H. A. BIERREGAARD,
of the Astor Library.

"THE only firm friend who follows men after death is justice; all others are extinct with the body. For in his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company—his virtue alone will adhere to him. Single is each man born; single he dies;* single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds. When he leaves his corse, like a log or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces; but his virtue accompanies his soul. Continually, therefore, by degrees, let him collect virtue, for the sake of securing an inseparable companion; since with virtue for his guide he will traverse a gloom, how hard to be traversed."

MANU LAW-BOOK, viii. 17, and iv. 239-42, translated by Sir W. Jones.

"For piety dies with men; and whether they live or die, it does not perish."

SOPHOCLES, *Philoctetes*, 1143.

"For our great Father counteth piety
Far above all. This follows men in death,
And failed not when they resign their breath."

THE SAME, translated by Professor Lewis Campbell.

"But virtue does not perish even if a man dies, but lives, though the body no longer exists; but to the bad all things disappear, dying with them, beneath the earth."

EURIPIDES, *Temenida* (Dindorf fragment 1).

"Zarathustra asked Ahura-Mazda: Ahura. Mazda, Heavenly, Holiest, Creator of the corporeal world, Pure! When a pure man dies, where does his soul dwell . . . ? When the lapse of the third night turns itself to light, then the soul of the pure man goes forward, re-collecting itself. . . . A wind blows to meet it from the mid-day region, from the mid-day regions, a sweet-scented one, more sweet-scented than the other winds. Then it goes forward, the soul of the pure man, receiving the wind in the nose (saying): Whence blows this wind, the sweetest-scented which I ever have smelt with the nose? In that wind there comes to meet him his own law† in the figure of a maiden, one beautiful, shining, with shining arms; one powerful, well-grown, slender, with large breasts, praiseworthy body; one noble, with brilliant face, one of fifteen years, as fair in her growth as the fairest creatures. Then to her (the maiden) speaks the soul of the pure man, asking: What maiden art thou whom I have seen here as the fairest of maidens in body? Then replies to him his own law: I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, words, and works, thy good law, the law of thine own body, which would be in reference to thee (like) in greatness, goodness, and beauty, sweet-smelling, victorious, harmless, as thou appearest to me. Thou art like me, O well-speaking, well-thinking, well-acting youth, devoted to the good law, so in greatness, goodness, and beauty as I appear to thee. . . . The soul of the pure man . . . takes the fourth step and arrives at the Eternal Lights. . . . Then speaks Ahura-Mazda: . . . bring him hither of the food of the full fatness, that is the food for the youth who thinks, speaks, and does good. . . . Zarathustra asked Ahura-Mazda: Ahura-Mazda, Heavenly, Holiest,

Creator of the corporeal world, Pure! When a wicked one dies, where does the soul dwell? . . . When the lapse of the third night approaches toward light, O pure Zarathustra, then goes the soul of the wicked man to the impure place, re-collecting itself continually by the stench. To it comes a wind blowing from the North region, an evil-smelling one, more evil smelling than other winds. When the soul of the wicked man receives this wind into the nose it goes (saying): Whence comes this wind which I smell with the nose as the most evil-smelling wind? In that wind (the mss. omit these verses, which must, however, of course, have contained exactly the converse of the verses above. In the *Minokheire* the verses corresponding to this passage say that the soul of the wicked meets the ugliest and most hateful maiden that can be conceived, and on asking her who she is he is told that she is his own wicked deeds, etc.). . . . The fourth step takes the soul of the wicked man and arrives at the darkness without beginning. . . . Then speaks Anramainyu.* . . . bring hither food, poison, and mixed with poison, for that is the food for a youth who thinks, speaks, and does evil, belongs to the wicked law, after his death." . . .
KHORDA-AVESTA, 22d fragment, translated by A. H. Bleeck, Hertford, 1864.

O Rose! of the flowers, I ween, thou art fairest,
But thorny and worthless the stem that thou bearest,

Fleeting thy beauty, unlovely thy fruit;
World, I would liken thee unto the roses,
Sweet are thy flatteries, sad are their closes,
Virtue and goodness in thee have no root.

Red is the berry, O Rose! on thy bushes,
Harsh is its inside, though fairly it blushes;
So World, dost thou lure us and mock us with lies:

Outside thy seeming is gracious and sunny,
Outside thy greetings are sweet as the honey,
Bitter thy kernel;—O man, then be wise!

UNKNOWN MYSTIC OF 13. CENT. *Transl. in Christ. Singers of Germany.*

BEAUTY is but a vaine and doubtfull good,
A shining glosse, that vadeth sodainly,
A flower that dies, when first it gins to bud,
A brittle glasse, that's broken presently.
A doubtfull good, a glosse, a glasse, a flower,
Lost, vaded, broken, dead within an houre.

And as goods lost are seld or neuer found,
As vaded glosse no rubbing will refresh;
As flowers dead lie withered on the ground,
As broken glasse no symant can redress:
So beauty blemisht once, foreuer lost,
In spite of phisicke, painting, paine and cost.
SHAKESPEARE: *The Passionate Pilgrim* XI.

The tree, which is by nature bitter
Tho' you should plant it in the garden of Paradise,
And water it from the fountain of Eternity,
And spread about its roots the purest honey,
Would in the end betray its nature,
And would still produce bitter fruit.

* * * * *
That evil should proceed from an evil disposition is not wonderful,
For thou canst not wash out the darkness from the night.

From FIRDUSI's satire upon the ungrateful Sultan Mahmud.

* Pascal: Je mourrai seul.

† That is, the rule of life to which he has conformed.

* It is characteristic of Anra-mainyus and the Daevas to mock as well as to inflict torments.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE CHURCH IN MODERN SOCIETY. By JULIUS H. WARD. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, \$1.

"This book is intended for the whole Christian family in this country." This is the sentence with which the author begins his preface, and it indicates sufficiently well the spirit and purpose of the work. It calls attention to some serious defects in modern Christianity that have arisen from the undue stress laid upon the development of the religious life of the individual and the neglect of the Christian Church as such. In the Middle Ages the individual was merged in the Church, which controlled and directed all educational, social, and ethical institutions. In Protestantism the Church is for the sake of the individual, and the Church has given over education, society, and institutions for the relief and reformation of men to the State or to associations of individuals. "The life of men has come to be so much outside of the ecclesiastical environment that the world has pushed the Church out of its old centre, and built up all sorts of organizations to do its work of reformation and renewal." Where there are national churches these can sum up and express the religious life of the nation, and can infuse all institutions in the nation with the spirit of Christianity; but "where there is no national church it is not easy to supply its place. Where the Church is not central in society, it is not at the point where it can do the most for the social and personal amelioration of the people." The difficulty with the religious life of America is that "there has been not only no national organization of religion, but most Christians have never thought or worked outside of the religious cliques in which they were brought up or in which they have found themselves."

We cannot have a national church in the United States. Our history forbids it. But the political institutions of the country suggest a remedy to the churches for many of the evils of the present situation. "The Church to-day in America no longer satisfies anybody who considers its possibilities and compares them with its performance." "The institutional conception of Christian society has been overlooked. Accordingly Christianity is what you see it almost everywhere in America—a movement bearing the character of a spent or a misapplied or an unwisely directed force. This religious body believes in the universality

of the atonement; that organization holds to the speedy second coming of our Lord; one would put the stress of the true Church in the mode of baptism; another would find the centre of interest in an emotional experience called conversion; another would rest the salvation of men upon the acceptance of the perfect humanity of the historical Christ; another would exalt Luther's dogma of justification by faith to the central place in the Christian system; still another would throw away the entire Christian Church and begin anew with the teachings of Swedenborg. There is no unity of the Christian religion in these discordant systems, nothing which raises the enthusiasm of humanity, nothing which heartens one to believe in Christianity itself." The great need of our times is an inclusive church, an idealized church, one that will grasp the interests of humanity and comprehend all the varied interests that are now so zealously contended for in different organization. Mr. Ward is entirely correct. Protestant churches have gone on excluding men from their organization on account of differences in dogma, in polity, and in theories of worship. The terms were so exclusive in the eighteenth century that a large proportion of the Christian population of Great Britain and America were not in communion with visible churches. The state of affairs is so bad at present that one of the brightest theologians of Scotland has said, within the present year, "I am even disposed to think that a great and steadily increasing portion of the moral worth of society lies outside of the Church, separated from it not by godlessness, but rather by exceptionally intense moral earnestness. Many, in fact, have left the Church in order to be Christians." The Church in our time has a high calling to evangelize the heathen world, to reform the depraved, to educate the ignorant, to raise up the fallen, to reform society, to ennoble honest, faithful labor, to sanctify the family, and to make the school and the State truly Christian. It is impossible to accomplish these great results by a host of heterogeneous, jarring sects that expend a large portion of their energy in friction with each other. There must be some kind of an organization of the Christian material. The army of the Lord, now in scattered battalions, like an army in retreat, should be organized for an aggressive campaign. How shall this be accomplished? Not by neglecting the liberty and experience of the individual, but by attending to the all-important interests of the Christian Church as such.

To this problem the author directs his attention in the two closing chapters of his book, on "Constructive Unity in Religious Forces" and "Unity through Working Agreements."

In the first of these chapters the author argues for federation of the churches, and in the second for ethical and spiritual unity. The principle of federation we learn from the history of our Federal Government. Many minds are tending in that direction at the present time. This is the method that I proposed several years ago in the *Presbyterian Review* and in my recent book, "Whither?" Mr. Ward kindly notices my book, but overlooks the fact that I had proposed federation, and that we are both working for the same great end. It is entirely practicable to combine the churches of the United States in a federation that will give visible expression to Christian unity, and that will give unity to many sections of Christian work. It is a very significant sign of the times that many minds in the Roman Catholic Church are moving in the same direction. It is through some such federation of the churches that the disturbing question of religion in the common schools may be settled, the great works of Christian charity may be more efficiently conducted, the reform of social and family life may be advanced, and the evangelization of the heathen world accomplished.

This book of Mr. Ward is well worthy of the attention of all thinking religious people.
NEW YORK. C. A. BRIGGS.

THE UNKNOWN GOD, OR INSPIRATION AMONG PRE-CHRISTIAN RACES. By C. LORING BRACE. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890. 8vo, \$2.50.

In an age of a degrading materialism, in a land where it is reported that forty millions of people worship no God whatever, a book on Religion ought to be hailed with thankfulness. Mr. Brace presents us with a volume which teaches that man has nobler powers than those by which he eats and drinks and makes money. Its title, "The Unknown God," is taken from the speech of Paul at Athens. By quotations from inscriptions, many of them newly discovered, and from ancient records, Mr. Brace shows that the ancient Egyptians, the Accadians, the Greeks, the Parsees, the Hindus, the Buddhists, all acknowledged the one Supreme God; that they worshipped Him, sought of Him the forgiveness of sins, and recognized the truth, that only by union with Him could rest be obtained by the immortal soul. The translations are affected

by Scripture influences—this is not uncommon in books of this kind. Many were astonished when Arnold's "Light of Asia" appeared, at its resemblance to the gospels; but upon investigation it is easily seen that he had presented Buddhism to us clad in the borrowed garments of Christianity. Mr. Brace seems to be anxious to set forth ancient heathenism in its strongest resemblances to our own religion, and these resemblances are indeed striking. That the ancients had a knowledge of the Supreme God is indisputable and is a fact borne out by our Scriptures. It is certain that after the flood Noah adored the true God, and his sons, who divided the earth, must have understood the character of his worship. The Hebrew name of Egypt is Misraim, who was a son or grandson of Ham. In the days of Abraham we find Melchisedec, priest of the Most High God. The Prophet Isaiah writes, "Hath it not been told you *from the beginning* that the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, faintest not?" In the ancient book of Job but the one eternal God is found. The Apostle Paul asserts of the heathen that "When *they knew God* they glorified Him not as God," and elsewhere he clearly teaches that not only by original tradition, but that by the things that are made, are clearly seen the eternal power and Godhead; moreover, that the law of God is written in every man's heart, and that in every one is a conscience which approves or condemns the actions of life. Mr. Brace does not formally state, but he implies the existence of the rudiments of religion in the soul of man. Theodore Parker reduces these to two—dependence and reverence. But this analysis is defective. Accountability and aspiration are as certainly found in the soul as are dependence and reverence. Back of all forms, even of Christianity, there lie these indestructible rudiments, so that the men who live—as do the majority in this land—without gratitude or adoration are silencing the voices of their own nature. Thus far we can go heartily with our author. But when he claims for the heathen "inspiration," he uses language which will not bear investigation. He confounds the mere suggestions of the mind with divine inspiration. This use of the word is common, as we say a man is inspired to write a poem, to state an argument, to attack an enemy, to paint a picture. That these suggestions in the old religions and philosophies were not divine inspirations is clear from the fact that they contradict each other. The inspiration of Epicurus was antagonistic to that of Socrates, the inspiration of

Zeno to that of Plato. In fact, under these inspirations the world was plunged into endless conjectures and unsettled controversies. We cannot go back to heathenism for our religion any more than we can go back to the deductions of the Middle Ages for our science. Heathenism has had its day; for thousands of years it possessed the world, and we are able to sum up its results in the very quotations of Mr. Brace. These results already begin to appear, and we have only to look at the inscriptions of the Assyrians, or the Accadians, or to the translated Vedas to see the aberrations of the heathen in two directions: First, in relegating the Supreme God to the unapproachable realms, so that He is called the *Unnameable* in the very Book of the Dead from which our author quotes; and second, to the representation of Him in polytheistic forms—that is, the worship of nature, hence the prayers to the sun, etc. The result of heathenism in religion has been agnosticism and polytheism; in morals, an utter chaos, a descent toward cruelty and obscenity. As the Scripture says, "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." In no nations did it bring deliverance. The world had the truth, and the world apostatized from God. No one can fail to see the striking contrast between our Bible and the best of the heathen Scriptures. From the Rig Veda down to the Puranas, what a descent from highest thoughts to the most contemptible fables. In the Bible, which embodies our religion, we have from the beginning sublimest revelations of God, and perhaps there is nowhere a grander utterance in human language than the first sentence of the Scripture, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," and yet in its whole course battling against the opposition of men, it advances toward the spiritual and the eternal. Spread out before us in history and prophecy are the three great conflicts, prolonged through thousands of years: First, Jehovah against idolatry, with its corruptions, that is, self-worship; second, against self-righteousness; and third, against selfishness itself. This is the last battle, and when this abomination is overthrown, then the kingdom of God will have come. Noteworthy it is that while the higher teachings of the old religions were confined to the priests, who desired in this way to defend their prerogatives, the Bible was from the beginning a people's book. Read it, said God, in the ears of the people. The great Jehovah who inhabits eternity makes Himself known to the humblest man. He is the God of the

Lazarus at the rich man's gate, and, moreover, we must never forget that the Bible is authoritative. There is no suggestion to any human mind which, against the assertions of all the philosophies in the world, can prove that God *created* all things. While we admit that heathenism had its beauties and its excellences, in the light of the glory of our Christianity we cannot return to it for guidance. We must not be led astray by fancied resemblances. Students of logic will remember the old *fallacia accidentis*, in which an accidental resemblance is made to include substantial identity. Odin is called the All-Father, but Odin is not God—far enough from Him. Zeus may have certain attributes, but he is not God, neither is the Buthos of the Gnostics, nor the Brahm of the Hindus, nor the *ro ov* of the Greeks. Christianity is exclusive; it knows of but one God, the God of holiness, and but one way of access to Him; but one Sacrifice for sin, and but one Holy Spirit, who regenerates and sanctifies the heart. Its demands are peremptory. On the side of man, the human conscience imperatively demands an explanation of sin, of misery and of death, and of the looking for of judgment. The question will not down, "How shall man be just with God?" The answer of Christ is, "This is My blood, shed for the remission of sins." "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me."

S. M. WOODBRIDGE.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

PALESTINE. By MAJOR C. R. CONDER. Great Explorers. Dodd, Mead & Company. New York. 1 vol. [Neither title-page nor preface is dated.] 12mo, \$1.25.

From the title of this book one is led to suppose that he has in hand a history of Palestine exploration. In this great work, which has been going on for half a century or more, representatives of many countries have borne an honorable part, and a volume containing the combined results, giving due credit to each explorer, whether of English, American, French, German, Italian, Swedish, or other nationality, tracing the various steps by which important identifications have been arrived at—such a volume would be most useful. This, however, is not the character of the present volume. On the contrary, it is confined almost exclusively to what Conder himself has done. If the reader once understands this and proceeds accordingly, he will not be disappointed that this book is only a flattering account of the Major's personal work. Such being the

case, the sub-title, "Great Explorers," is puzzling.

The book contains eight essays, which have the character of ordinary magazine articles, and are hardly worthy of taking a place in permanent history. They are respectively Introductory, Judea, Samaria, Galilee, Moab, Gilead, Northern Syria, and Results of Exploration. The series of historical maps are very useful, but the illustrations are distressingly poor, apparently the most hasty kind of pencil sketches, introduced without change. It is a fair criticism that the work contains too much ancient history—out of the line of the explorer. For example, the chapter entitled "Northern Syria" (pp. 190-213) is wholly of this character, and might have been written by any intelligent traveller, or even by an intelligent person who had never seen the country. The same remark applies to other parts of the volume, such as the long account (pp. 117-27) of the characteristics of certain Mohammedan religious sects, which have been treated by competent scholars in a far more satisfactory way, and the general discussion (pp. 142-56) of stone monuments, examples of some of which occur east of the Jordan. These matters detract from the usefulness of the book as a history of Conder's explorations.

To err is human, hence it is no slander to say that Major Conder shares in this universal weakness. His statement that "the total length of the Jordan Valley from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea is about a hundred miles" (p. 72) I look upon as an oversight, for he certainly knows that the distance is only sixty-five miles. The statement that Wilson (now Sir Charles) determined accurately the level of the Dead Sea as being twelve hundred and ninety-two feet below the Mediterranean is misleading. Another person may be as exact in his work as Wilson was and arrive at twelve hundred and ninety-eight, thirteen hundred, or thirteen hundred and six as a result. The reason is that the difference in the level of the Dead Sea between summer and winter amounts to fifteen feet, and this fact, which Conder himself states, should not be overlooked whenever this subject is mentioned. The celebrated name Jotapata is spelled Gotapata (p. 102). As this spelling occurs twice, and again on the map, it can hardly be a slip. With the same propriety Joppa and Jerusalem, since each begins with the same letter, might be spelled as he has spelled Jotapata. That the walls of the Mosque enclosure at Hebron "are exactly like those of the Jerusalem Haram" (p. 33)

is contrary to fact. They correspond to those in the palace of Hyrcanus at Arak El Emir east of the Jordan, which is one hundred and sixty years earlier than the Herodian work at Jerusalem. That the Hebron work "must be that of Herod the Great or of one of his immediate successors" is very improbable. The manner in which Josephus speaks of these monuments leads to the supposition that they were erected long before Herod's time.

In certain cases Conder does not appear to have availed himself of the latest information. For instance, he says that Schumacher "discovered the dolmens east of the Sea of Galilee," when they were visited and described by other travellers before Schumacher entered that country (pp. 20, 188). Again the great *wady*, represented on his map as coming from the northeast and entering the Jabbok near where that river bends to the west, does not exist. This appears upon some Sunday-school maps, and ought to be corrected. With regard to Siaghah, first mentioned by De Saulcey and since by many others, Dr. George E. Post, of Beirut, has shown that this name has no connection whatever with Pisgah, although the contrary has been vehemently asserted (p. 159). Further, as to the inscriptions at Jerash, if Conder would take the trouble to look in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vols. III. and VI., 1882 and 1885, he might learn something to his advantage and by which his own statements might be improved (p. 180). Particularly is this neglect of the literature of the subject evident in his claim to be the discoverer of Golgotha. In this he is positively mistaken. In attributing (p. 30) the discovery of the "second wall" to Mr. Schick he is certainly wrong. That wall the present writer found, explained what it was and its probable course, showed that it could not have been a tower, as was urged, and published accounts of it in England and America before any one else. This is a historical fact which only wilfulness or ignorance will dispute. On three stones which exist east of the Jordan he bases a special class of monuments, whose age and use are unknown, which he calls "*disc stones*." One "stands up like a wheel," one "stands on end" (1), and the third "lies flat like a mighty cheese" (p. 154). These, however, are simply large millstones and nothing else. This is not a matter of opinion, but of fact. Conder's peculiar theory of the Hittites, especially of their language, has never been accepted by American scholars, but in this volume he states them with

less positiveness than he has done in former publications.

The last chapter in the book on "The Results of Exploration" is by far the most valuable, giving as it does an outline of the "geological, geographical, physical, antiquarian, ethnical, and biblical" gains secured by the recent work of exploration. It is too brief, and has an apologetic tone, as though the author were defending himself or his society against certain criticisms that seem to him unfair. For the general reader it will be suggestive and helpful. His praise of the brilliant, poetical, and unreliable Renan is unexpected, coming as it does from an explorer who is supposed to deal in a matter-of-fact way with exact measurements and accurate details (p. 237). The Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, which is translating and publishing some of the early travels in the Holy Land, is doing an excellent work, to which Conder gives special praise in his introductory chapter. The Palestine Exploration Fund, under whose auspices Major Conder labored, deserves the gratitude of the Christian world for the task which, nearly thirty years ago, it undertook and for the results which it has accomplished. Serious obstacles have been encountered, arising from the climate, the fanaticism of the people, and the opposition of the government. At last, by direct orders from Constantinople, the work was stopped. With all the advantages at his command Conder ought to produce superior work—work that by carefulness, scholarship, and judicious suggestions would commend itself to the judgment of those who, upon such matters, are best informed.

SELAH MERRILL.

ANDOVER, MASS.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By the late Rev. WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX, M.A. New York: Thomas Whitaker. 16mo, pp. xii., 226. 75 cents.

Clearly the last word has not been said on the grammar of the New Testament. The extensive works of Winer and Buttmann and the excellent grammar of S. G. Green still do duty in the study and the classroom. But they are not infallible. Their statements are challenged and corrected in our periodicals, and the way is being cleared for some work which shall supersede them because it will be better than they are. Mr. Simcox's book will not do this, though it may contribute to that end.

When the man whose grammar shall take the place of Winer and Buttmann in the study and the lecture-room gathers up the

fragments from numerous sources with which to piece out and supplement his own researches, he can by no means neglect the neat little work before us, almost every page of which bears the marks of independent and painstaking study, and of excellent judgment. The author disclaims, however, any intention of making a "complete grammar of New Testament Greek." His chief aim was "to indicate . . . the points wherein the language of the New Testament differs from classical and even post-classical usage: to classify such differences according to their origin: and thus to vivify the study of purely verbal grammar, . . ." His aim is, therefore, a limited, though a useful one. A grammar to accomplish that was needed.

Not a few students of theology and even clergymen would find it hard to indicate the points wherein New Testament Greek agrees with and differs from classical Greek, and yet a clear understanding of the New Testament demands exact knowledge of this. In working out, as far as he has done, this line of investigation, Mr. Simcox has added to our knowledge.

In the introduction he has stated succinctly the conditions under which Greek gained its position as the medium of commercial intercourse, tracing briefly the "transformation" from the Attic to the Alexandrian and Hellenistic varieties. The first chapter deals with Hellenistic Greek, and is perhaps less happy, certainly more open to question in its conclusions, than the introduction. Mr. Simcox devotes but little space to what the grammars call etymology, twenty-two pages covering all he has to say on conjugation and declension. But these pages are valuable, one suggestion worthy of notice being a derivation of the genitive of first declension nouns in — *α* from an Hellenic source, another finding warrant in Plato for the employment of indeclinable foreign names. Throughout the book, however, analogy holds a large place—an uncertain argument in grammar, and one often unsatisfactory.

The bulk of the book (one hundred and sixty pages) is devoted to syntax, and here is shown the most painstaking study of the text of the New Testament, with perhaps (considering the size of the book) too minute attention to variant readings. The treatment would have gained in clearness had the text now so nearly universally accepted (Westcott and Hort's) been made the basis, with less reference to the MSS. Often readings with slight warrant are allowed extended comment.

The discussion of the tenses is spirited and original. But the author has taken much care to treat of the difference between aorist and perfect, noting the tendency of late Greek to eliminate that difference and use the tenses as equivalents. But a question much more important has all but escaped notice—the relation of the aorist and imperfect. Perfects are comparatively infrequent in the New Testament, aorists and imperfects abound on every page. The author, in treating of participle, might have done well to use Professor Ballantine's article in the *Bib. Sac.* for October, 1884.

The general excellence of the section treating of the moods leads us to regret that so little space is allowed the hypothetical period.

In connection with the prepositions no notice is taken of μέλλοι, and especially remarkable is the omission of ἕως. The disregard of the latter is a grave omission when the scope of the work is considered. Out of about one hundred and forty cases of its occurrence in the New Testament about eighty are followed by the genitive, and this degeneration of ἕως from an adverb to a preposition is a marked feature of the "transformation" of the Attic into Alexandrian and Hellenistic Greek.

The index of Scripture passages is full, but unfortunately it is the only one. Not a great deal of help is to be gained in this direction from the table of contents, which is very meagre. With an index of Greek words explained and referred to, and a reasonably complete one of subjects, the volume, reasonable in price as it is, would be very valuable, might indeed become a pastor's study-table book. Lacking these indexes, its usefulness is much circumscribed.

Printed as it is in compact text, with no clear paragraphic divisions, it will hardly become a text-book in the class-room. Its make-up in this respect marks the author as a pastor, not a teacher. Valuable in the extreme to the author of a grammar is experience in the teacher's chair. There is a wide difference, for instance, between Professor Ballantine's terse statement of the usage of the New Testament of aorist participles (see *Bib. Sac.*, October, 1884) and the discussion of our author (pp. 122-35). Discussion is not all that is required in a grammar. Clear statement of principles is a *sine qua non*.

The author has enriched the volume by comparison with modern Greek, but why overlook patristic Greek to find illustrations in Romain? Much more notice might have been taken of the Septuagint than has been

done; still less should the Apocrypha—a most important link in the chain of descent—have been overlooked. Both these are now demanding much study and giving much light.

The book as a whole is so good, the discussion often so discriminating, that the few defects stand out in bold relief. The printing is neat, and but few typographical errors were noted. The writing of the word "Josepus" savors a little of pedantry. What need was there to depart from the ordinary form, "Josephus"? A business man would object to the numerous unexplained abbreviations—e.g., "ptcp.," "v. l.," "pr. m.," "s. vv.," etc. (see pp. 28, 31, 45, 66, etc.).

GEORGE W. GILMORE.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

MITO YASHIKI. A tale of old Japan. Being a feudal romance descriptive of the decline of the Shogunate and of the downfall of the power of the Tokugawa family. By ARTHUR COLLINS MACLAY, A.M., LL.B. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. viii., 456. Cloth, \$1.50.

In this volume Mr. Maclay has made a new departure in the field of fiction. In reading the book, whose title indicates its contents in a general way, one has to cast aside the current significance of the word "romance." With its "Japanesque" coloring and motives the American and English romance has little in common. The story told in these pages is very fascinating and is well told, but aside from that one gains glimpses into the life of the country, its customs and some of its old institutions, which are extremely interesting. The account of the culmination of the power of the Shogun, the real ruler, and his downfall, followed by the revival of the power of the Mikado, are set forth upon a framework of fact, though clothed in the form of fiction. The main trouble is that these two elements are so woven together that one is often at a loss to distinguish and separate them.

To those interested in Christian Missions in Japan there are two chapters in particular which call for attention. The first, entitled "A Metaphysical Siesta," represents a discussion of some fundamental problems of Natural Theology between the Gotairo, or executive of the Shogun, and a Buddhist priest, in which the author causes the latter to abandon, one after the other, the tenets of his faith as commonly accepted, in a remarkable way. The second is near the close of the book, Chapter XXXV. This gives

an account of a supposed conversation between two of the characters of the story and a Christian missionary as to some of the fundamental points of the Christian religion, which are represented as being of special importance in the eyes of cultured Japanese. There are three of these—the existence of God, Incarnation, and the Immortality of the Soul. The Atonement offered no insuperable difficulty or incomprehensible doctrine, inasmuch as it finds a parallel in a certain practice of feudal Japan.

Another passage is of interest, pages 422–425, as being the witness of one who has lived on the spot, to the value of Christian Missions.

By way of criticism two things may be suggested: First, the use of certain phrases which savor of current slang and which now disfigure the book in half-a-dozen places. These should be eliminated. Second, the use of native words of which no explanation is given. A vocabulary of these appended to the book, with proper explanation of their significance, would be of considerable service, and as the book treats of subjects not familiar to a large proportion of its readers, there would be no impropriety in it in connection with a romance.

C. R. GILLETT.

NEW YORK.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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Buell, Samuel, D.D. *A Treatise of Dogmatic Theology.* 2 vols. New York: Whittaker, 1890, pp. 1237, 8vo, \$6.00.

Bugge, F. W. *Lukas-Evangeliet. Indledet, oversat og forklaret.* Kristiania: Steen, 1889. Pp. x., 642, 8vo, 7kr.50.

Bunyon, Charles J. *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall, sometime Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak, and of Harriette, his Wife.* New York: Longmans, 1890. Pp. 368, 8vo, \$4.50.

Burge, Lorenzo. *Origin and Formation of the Hebrew Scriptures.* Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1890. Pp. v., 132, 12mo, cloth, \$1.00.

Burns, D. *Temperance History: A Consecutive Narrative of the Rise, Development and Extension of the Temperance Reform, with an introductory chapter.* London: National Temperance Depot. Pp. 464, 8vo, 5s.

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AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. XV., No. 57, January, 1890.

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The article on Döllinger in this number is by Canon Liddon.

THE Rev. J. I. Mombert, D.D., has kindly offered to supply to those readers of the MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE who are ministers, theological students or Sunday-school teachers, the subscription edition of his valuable *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible* at the unprecedentedly low price of *One Dollar*; a copy, the original price being \$3.50. The *Handbook* first appeared in 1883 and was heartily praised by competent judges. Orders are to be addressed not to the office of this MAGAZINE, but directly to Rev. J. I. Mombert, D.D., Paterson, N. J. The amount should accompany the order.

The volume will be sent by express at the subscriber's charge; or, if 16 cents be sent for postage it will go by mail.

HARPER's for March contains nothing of special interest to theologians, although, as usual, much that the public in general will care about. The two archaeological articles, "The Winged Victory of Samothrace," by Theodore Child, and Dr. Charles Waldstein's "The Restored Head of Iris in the Parthenon Frieze," and Mrs. Anne Thackeray Ritchie's essay on John Ruskin, may be singled out for especial praise. The poetry of the number is pleasing, and Mr. Howells begins in it a new novel—"The Shadow of a Dream."

THE CENTURY for March presents another instalment of Professor Fisher's "Nature and Method of Revelation." "Glosses on the Cathedral" is the subject of an illustrated article by Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer. Mr. Edward L. Wilson gives us another article on biblical topography, "Some Wayside Places in Palestine." Besides these there are Lieutenant Schwatka's "Sun-dance of the Sioux," John La Farge's "From Tokio to Nikko," and Professor Putnam's "Prehistoric Remains in the Ohio Valley," and numerous other articles of divergent subject and interest. Mr. Joseph Jefferson's "Autobiography" is continued.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD for March is a well-filled number. Dr. Pierson continues the account of his missionary meetings in Scotland, which have been apparently successful. His enthusiasm is very marked. He has "A Plea for Enthusiasm in Missions," in this number. Rev. Lewis Grout contributes an article upon "The Boers and Missions." These Dutch farmers have long opposed all attempts in the direction of evangelization, but now they themselves are experiencing the work of the Spirit, and in consequence are ready to aid the work among their heathen servants and dependents. Rev. D. L. Leonard writes on the interesting, but strangely neglected topic of "Moravian Missions among the American Indians." It is sad to reflect that "in every case the obstacles were overwhelming, and the tribes have well-nigh vanished from the earth." But the story stirs the blood and will incite some to renewed consecration in missionary work. Rev. Dr. Gracey writes on the "Jew in the Nineteenth Century." "Among multitudes of them in Germany the hope of a Messiah has totally disappeared." "Of the seventy thousand Jews in New York City, not over twenty-five hundred are attached to the synagogue." Evangelical work among this strange people is being prosecuted with vigor. Rev. Dr. Ellinwood has a timely article on "The Roman Catholic Lay Congress of 1890." Its spirit is excellent, and it is difficult to see how even the most ardent Romanist could take offence at its kindly, calm and sober statements. Very different from the ordinary rant on either side are the closing paragraphs. The other departments are filled as usual.

SCRIBNER's for March has a striking article on Hypnotism, by Professor William James, of Harvard, under the title "The Hidden Self." He believes that in trances facts are revealed to the subjects which altogether transcend their possible normal consciousness. The boomerang, that wonderful Australian weapon, is minutely described by Mr. Horace Baker. Mr. Benjamin Ellis Martin in his paper "In the Footprints of Charles Lamb," corrects a number of errors which have crept into accepted biographies of Lamb. There is a paper on John Ericsson which needs only mention to insure eager reading.

THE complete story in the COSMOPOLITAN for March is by H. H. Boyesen and bears the ominous title of "A Candidate for Divorce." Mr. Frank G. Carpenter's graphic and illustrated account of "Easter in Jerusalem" is heartily commended, as is also Colton Charles Challie-Long's "The Desert." Mr. Hall in the "Lilabour" has a cheering word about the progress of temperance in its true sense, in England. Mr. William H. Gilder's "Signal Codes, Savage and Scientific," is very interesting.

LIPPINCOTT's for March contains the third part of the interesting fragment of Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Elixir of Life," edited by Mr. Julian Hawthorne, who thus permits us to see the great novelist at work. Mr. William McGeorge's "Western Mortgages" will strike a responsive chord through the country. Rev. Frederic M. Bird's review of a new edition of "The Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius" merits attention. The complete novel of the number is given by Captain Charles King—"Two Soldiers."

THE title in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY for March which will most interest those who are on the search for serious matter is that on Giordano Bruno by Mr. William R. Thayer. Our readers will recollect the excellent article on Bruno which appeared in our November number. Mr. Thayer waxes very enthusiastic over Bruno and quotes with approval Mr. Symonds's dictum that Bruno's dream was so golden, so divine, that it was worth the pangs of martyrdom. Can we say the same for Hegel's system, or for Schopenhauer's, or for the encyclopaedic ingenuity of Herbert Spencer? Oliver Wendell Holmes is particularly amusing in "Over the Tea-cups," and writes some droll remarks on verse-making. An unsigned article, "Loitering through the Paris Exposition," contains some capital word-pictures of show-life.